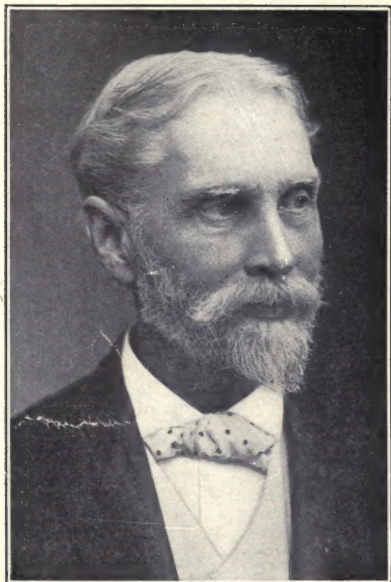


UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO



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PIONEER DAYS IN LONDON



CL. T. CAMPBELL, M.D.
AUTHOR

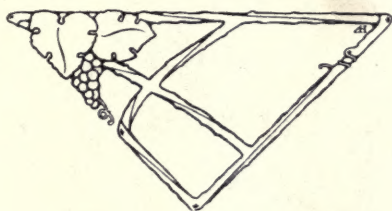
*Honorary President of the London and Middlesex
Historical Society.*

Pioneer Days in London

Some Account of Men and Things
in London before it became a City

By CL. T. CAMPBELL, M.D.

*Honorary President of the London & Middlesex
Historical Society.*



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Prefatory



IN PREPARING these sketches for publication, I have drawn freely on papers I have read before the London and Middlesex Historical Society, and on articles written for the press. I have had the advantage of the recollections of some of our pioneers, such as Sir John Carling, Hon. Freeman Talbot, Judge William Elliott, Mr. V. Cronyn, Mr. Thomas Kent, Mr. A. Syden, Mrs. Gilbert Porte, Mrs. Henry Root, the McKenzie of Hyde Park and others. Among the books consulted have been Bremner's "Illustrated London," Goodspeed's "County of Middlesex," Sir James Alexander's "L'Acadie," Sir Richard Bonnycastle's "Canada and the Canadians," Brown's "Canada and the Colonists," Smith's "Gazetteer," etc. I am indebted to Mr. Justice Riddell, of Toronto, the late Judge Hughes of St. Thomas, and Mr. T. H. Purdom, K.C., of London, for information connected with the Bench and Bar. I have endeavored as far as possible to verify every statement made, and thus give a correct record of the early days of London. Such as it is, this book is given to the public in the hope that it will create greater respect for the past, greater pride in the present, and greater expectation for the future.

CL. T. C.

London, May 1, 1921.



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I—After the Glaciers



Governor Simcoe

A CERTAIN author, undertaking to write the history of his native town, commenced with the creation of the world. I may follow his example to some extent—though with a difference. He placed the date of the Creation at 4004 B.C., according to the computation of the learned Archbishop Usher. But modern geology places that important event ages upon ages earlier. I will not go back as far as the Creation, but stop some 50,000 years ago. An inhabitant of Mars at that time, supposing Mars to have been inhabited, and possessing telescopes of longer range than ours, might have looked upon the earth and seen a vast cap of ice covering the northern part of this continent—stretching southward over Canada and the State of Ohio, and of a thickness that none can estimate. Then,

after centuries of winter, summer began to dawn. The solid ice began to melt; the water to flow off south; and gradually the dry land to appear. It is assumed by some geologists that, so far as this province is concerned, the London district was the first to peep up above the surface of the engulfing waters.

Now great lakes appeared, and vast floods of water coursed over the land, carrying huge boulders of rock, and bergs of ice—the beginnings of rivers that are but tiny streams to-day. Such a one flowed along the bed of our modern Thames. As you travel by the Grand Trunk Railway between Ingersoll and Woodstock, looking from the car window you can see away off to the South, the southern bank of the great river that has dwindled down to the little streamlet now flowing through the valley. Then come to London, and stand on the Court House bank, and imagine what happened when two great masses of water met head-on, like railway trains in a collision, swirling around in a huge cauldron, scooping out the hollow where now live the people of London West; then flying off westward in a united stream, winding around clay hills, linking up little lakes, until reaching the less resistant soil of Kent county it cuts its way in a canal-like channel to the lake—justifying the name given it by the early French voyageurs of La Tranche—the Trench.

So in the course of centuries, the waters abated, and the dry land came into view; vegetation began, forests slowly arose and animal life came up from more southern climes. Then at last came man—the Indian inhabited the land. Of his origin we know little, but speculate much. The Hurons have a tradition that they had their beginning in a hole in the north bank of the St. Lawrence river. That sounds as good as some of the theories advanced by more learned men—some of whom place the original habitat of this tribe in the regions north of the St. Lawrence. But whether they began in a hole or on the surface only takes us part of the way. Where did the beginners themselves come from? And here we are in an impasse, and had better let the subject drop.

When the conquering white man came in the seventeenth century he found the Hurons occupying the northern part of this province; in New York state were the rival nations, the Iroquois; while along the southern peninsula of Ontario, from Niagara to Goderich dwelt the Attiwondiras, or Neutrals, as the French called them, because in the wars between the Hurons and Iroquois they managed to keep out of the fight for many years. They seem to have been a peaceful people, numbering according to the early French missionaries some 12,000, settled in about 36 fortified villages. These villages were usually located on some of the small tributaries of the main rivers.

Through the south-western peninsula the valley of the Thames was doubtless the highway of travel for Indian parties going east or west and the cautious Neutrals kept their villages more in the background. The nearest to the present site of London seems to have been on lot 20, con. 4, of the township of London, on the farm of Miss Shaw-Wood. Many of the Indian villages became the seats of mission stations, some of which have been identified. This has been rather a difficult task, because the good fathers in their reports of their work were not very particular in indicating their line of travel or the villages where they located. And village and mission station have long since ceased to exist. The struggles between the Iroquois and the Hurons ended in the extermination of the latter, and about the middle of the 17th century the Neutrals met the same fate. The conquering Iroquois swept over the southern peninsula, and thenceforth it became only a hunting ground for wandering tribes.

Meanwhile the voyageur and explorer were not idle. La Salle, Hennepin, Joliet, Nicolet, Marquette, and others, both priests and laymen, were wandering westward, and mapping out the land. Across the western peninsula only the trapper and the trader blazed their way, doubtless along the valley of the Thames. But of these there is no record, and no permanent settlements were made. The first time the sound of a voice speaking the English language was heard in this vicinity so far as we have any reasonable authority, was when Lord Edward Fitzgerald tripped it across the peninsula in 1789, though there may have been a few wandering pioneers before that time of whom nothing is known to-day. Fitzgerald was a

young Irish officer in the British army who made a tour of America from Halifax to Niagara thence to Detroit, up to Mackillimackinack; south to the Mississippi, and to New Orleans. In this long journey there must have been ample opportunity to gain information. But if he saw much, he said little, and wrote little. His letters to his people, gathered up by his biographer—the poet Moore—are devoid of anything of value. As an example, we learn from them that in the pleasant month of June he left Niagara going westward, touching at Brant's settlement, then on to about where Woodstock is; here he got a boat, and went down the river to Detroit. In this trip of about 250 miles, the only thing he saw worth remembering or recording was the beauty of the dusky maidens he met at an Indian Pow-wow. Just like an impressionable young Irishman!

It was about this time that the addition of a large number of English-speaking immigrants to the population of Canada gave rise to considerable confusion in the administration of the affairs of the colony. So the British Government adopted the expedient of dividing it into two—Upper and Lower Canada—each province with its Lieutenant-Governor, and a Governor-General over all. Lord Dorchester held the latter position, while Col. John Graves Simcoe was appointed to take charge of Upper Canada. He was a British officer, who had served in the Revolutionary war. He had no love for the Yankees and looked forward to another war. His first object, therefore, was to see about the defences of his province. On his way to Upper Canada, in December, of 1791, he studied all the maps he could find in the Surveyor's office in Montreal, and came to the conclusion that La Tranche was a big water way, and that somewhere along its course he would find a central spot that would suit him for the site of a capital. He proposed to start on an exploring expedition the next year. But he did not. Other matters interfered, and it was not until February, 4th 1793, that he was able to leave his temporary headquarters at Niagara and look over the ground to the west.

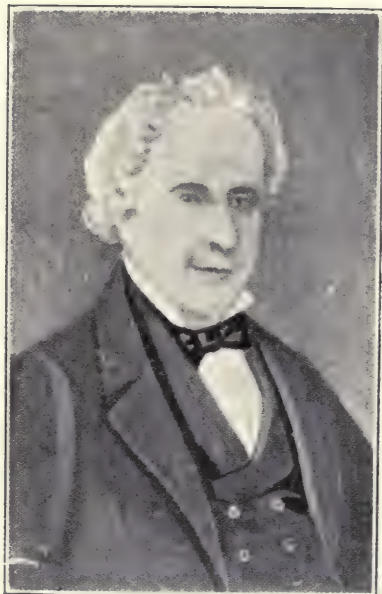
It was not the most pleasant season of the year to go travelling. But the Governor prepared for the worst of the weather. According to Mrs. Simcoe's diary he had no overcoat, but he did have a fur cap, gloves and moccasins. A small guard of soldiers, with several of his staff accompanied him. Among them were a couple of officers who settled in Canada. Lieut. Talbot became one of the chief colonizers, well-known in this section. Lieut. Givens obtained some government office, and his son studied law, practiced in London, took an active part in municipal affairs, and died a judge in one of the eastern counties.

This is not the place to go into details of the Governor's trip. It was written up by his secretary—Lieut. Littlehales, whose diary has been published by the London Historical Society. Sufficient to say that he travelled south of the Thames, most of the way; reached Detroit on the 18th; then returned by the same route. On March 2nd he came to the forks of LaTranche, and stopped for a day to examine the situation. It just suited him. It was the centre of a

country suitable for agriculture, and for trade with the Indians; it was far enough from the frontier to be comparatively safe against sudden invasion by the Yankees. Moreover the river seemed to him big enough to be navigable from Detroit, and probably easy of connection by small portages with rivers emptying into Lakes Erie and Ontario. Here he decided to fix the capital of the province. His entire trip occupied about five weeks, closing with his return to Navy Mall on the 10th of March.

In the summer of 1793 the Governor sent Patrick McNiff, one of the provincial surveyors, to look over the country along the river (which, by the way, he had christened the Thames by proclamation in 1792), and the reports received seemed to satisfy him that his choice of a site for the proposed capital was a wise one. But nothing came of it. He was instructed by Dorchester to take up his residence at Toronto, to be called York. Reading some Canadian histories one would get the idea that while Simcoe first thought of locating himself at the Forks of the Thames he subsequently changed his mind, and selected York. As a matter of fact he never changed on this subject. His correspondence, on file in the Dominion archives, shows this conclusively. Even after buildings had been erected in York, he speaks of it as the temporary location of the seat of government, and suggests that the property might be sold, and the government offices removed to where he proposed to make London—"the proper place for it"—he says in a letter to the Colonial Secretary. The truth is that Dorchester did not approve of going so far away from Montreal; he wanted the seat of provincial government nearer, and more accessible to Montreal by water. And Dorchester was Simcoe's superior officer, though the latter had difficulty in realizing it. Upper Canada was his province, and he thought he should not be interfered with in its management, but, of course, the Governor-General had his own way about it. And so London lost its chance of being the seat of government; and the plot reserved by Simcoe for that purpose remained unoccupied until 1826, when a new era dawned.

II—The Colonizers



Colonel Talbot

WHILE the site reserved by Governor Simcoe for his proposed town of London remained for many years unoccupied, the surrounding country began to fill with settlers, though slowly at first. The immigration of U. E. Loyalists through the Niagara gate-way spread from that locality to Long Point, while a number of people came over from the United States. The first settlement near the Forks appears to have been at Delaware. James H. Brown who published a book of Canadian travels in 1840, tells a very pretty story of the arrival of the first settlers at this place—his authority being one of the old residents. A party of men from Ancaster journeyed westward on a trading trip; reaching the south branch of the Thames a short distance

west of the forks, they sailed down the winding river over whose banks hung tangling brushwood and graceful willows, passing small wooded islands and meadow lands, till they reached a shady nook some fifteen miles below the Forks. Here they rested. The location was charming, and convenient for trading with the Indians; so here they decided to remain. They sent back to Ancaster for their women folks and families; and so Delaware began to be. The story sounds well, and may be true, though Mr. Brown gives it second hand, and no official records corroborate it. The chronicler of Governor Simcoe's trip in 1793 locates an encampment of Delaware Indians here; but as Mr. Brown's story gives no date, there is no necessary conflict between the two statements.

In 1795, Ebenezer Allen obtained a grant of about 2,000 acres on condition that he built a mill and a church. He began the work, but his funds were soon exhausted, and he replenished them by making some money of his own. As this was contrary to regulations he was given free board at His Majesty's expense for some months. When he got out of jail his incompleated buildings were dropping to pieces; and he left the task of finishing them to some more law-abiding citizens. Allen was quite a hustler—trader, counterfeiter, colonizer,

horse-thief, explorer, etc. When the war of 1812 broke out, he finished his Canadian career by joining the United States forces, and thereafter became an exile—leaving some of his wives behind him. Traditions vary as to the final regulation of his harem. He was understood to have four wives—two white and two Indian. Some say he kept his Indian wives in the States, and threatened to shoot them if they came to Canada; others say he left the squaws in Canada when he returned to his own place in the United States. He was an energetic man; but not a very exemplary citizen.

The chief colonizer of this portion of Canada was Col. Thomas Talbot. He was a member of an aristocratic family—a younger son of an Irish peer. As a young man he obtained a commission in the British army; was a member of Governor Simcoe's staff in Canada; and returning to England attained the rank of Lieut.-Colonel. Court society under the Fourth George was boisterous and dissolute, and Talbot seems to have been a gay boy among his associates. Suddenly without apparent reason, he returned to Canada in 1801. By 1803 he obtained the usual officer's grant of 5,000 acres and became the government's recognized land agent for the location of settlers in the London district. For this as his commission he received part of the land granted to the settler; out of every 200 acres granted the settler got 50 and the Colonel 150. How much real estate he accumulated I do not know; Lord Durham's Report credits him with 38,500 acres. In subsequent years, on account of losses sustained, he received a Government pension of \$2,000.

Talbot took up his abode a few miles west of what is now St. Thomas, building his log house on a plateau over-looking Lake Erie, adjacent to the site of the present Port Talbot. Here he reigned the uncrowned king of the district. The intending settler, seeking a grant of land, approached with fear and trembling and was received by the Colonel at a window of his house. If the stranger gave a good account of himself and if his appearance was satisfactory, his name was pencilled on the map, he was given a ticket with the number of his lot, and went on his way rejoicing—though he did not always rejoice when he saw the lot. If, on the other hand, he did not look good to the Colonel the dogs were set on him, and he went off landless. During the years of the Colonel's regime the district he controlled, which consisted largely of the present Elgin County and part of Middlesex as far north as London Township, received a satisfactory influx of settlers. But while he was no doubt a very efficient government agent and representative of the leading powers, it does not appear that his personal efforts were responsible for much of the immigration; the southern peninsula was rapidly filling up with new arrivals, not only from Britain and the United States, but also from other European countries—men and women who voluntarily sought better fortune in a newer land.

There is no more striking figure in the earlier history of the London district than that of Colonel Talbot. He stands out head and shoulders above his contemporaries—partly on account of his official position which brought him into personal contact with the

settlers, partly on account of his marked peculiarities of character. He possessed both the virtues and vices of the upper classes in the pre-Victorian Age. To those of his own class, hospitable, courteous and genial; to others sometimes arrogant, sometimes patronizing, sometimes generous and kind. A warm friend to his friends; a bitter enemy to those who antagonized him. A man of pronounced views which he never concealed. Most of his contemporaries who wrote about him were of his own class and eulogized him; some few saw and described only his bad qualities. Of such is the Rev. Wm. Proudfoot, the pioneer Presbyterian minister of London, who in his journal calls him in effect a drunken bully. This is rather strong language, and hardly fair. If he imbibed freely, it was the custom of an age when it was fashionable to get drunk; if he bullied people sometimes it was due to a naturally arrogant temperament intensified by holding a position in which his will was supreme. Such as he was, however, he did his work, and has a place among the makers of Canada. He died in London in 1853 at the residence of Mr. George Macbeth, who was his personal attendant for many years, and who, I believe, inherited much of his property.

In the settlement of London township another Talbot—no relative but a countryman of Colonel Talbot—took the leading part. In 1817, Richard Talbot, of Limerick, Ireland, applied to the British Government for a grant of land in Canada for settlement purposes. The reply was partially favorable—the authorities agreeing to give each settler a hundred acres of land provided he first deposited with Mr. Talbot ten pounds as a guarantee of good faith—the money to be returned when the settler built his house. A ship for the emigrants was also provided by the Government. Some sixty persons accompanied Mr. Talbot; but when they reached the colony, they found they would have to pay their own passage to London Township where their lands were located. As a consequence a number left the party and settled near the village of Perth; the remainder journeyed westward by lake and river until they reached Port Talbot, from whence they passed overland to their destination.

This party brought out by Mr. Talbot formed the nucleus of London Township's population, quite a number following and settling on adjacent lots. Both men and women were of the best type of colonizers; some of them and many of their descendents hold a prominent place in the history of London and Canada. Two of Mr. Talbot's sons were closely associated with this city in its early days. Edward taught school here, and published its first paper—the *London Sun*; he also wrote a large book on Canada. A younger son Freeman, worked as a surveyor and took part in many local enterprises. In 1852 he started the *London Prototype*; but after selling out his interest in 1855 he removed to Minnesota. He spent his latter days with some relatives in the North-West. He told me once that his marriage with Miss Clark in 1833 was the first ceremony of the kind at which the Rev. Mr. Cronyn, Rector of St. Paul's, officiated.

Prior to the arrival of Mr. Talbot's settlers there were very

few people living in London Township. Probably the nearest to the Forks was Joshua Applegarth, who, about 1812, started to raise hemp two or three miles west. He seems to have been a failure as a hemp raiser, and went into Westminster township, where he started distilling whiskey without authority, and was fined pretty extensively by the magistrate before whom he was tried. A license as a distiller would have cost Mr. Applegarth much less than his fine.

Of the townships adjacent to London Westminster seems to have been the first one surveyed. Simon Zelotes Watson, surveyed the upper part in 1809—the work being completed shortly after by Burwell and Bostwick. Zelotes got squabbling with Col. Talbot, against whose iron rule he was disposed to rebel. But the despot had the ear of government, and the rebel had to get out. He was roundly abused by the Colonel and his friends; but seems to have been one of the men who could be most useful in a pioneer settlement.

Among the earlier settlers were Arch. McMillan at Byron, and Abram Patrick at Lambeth—both in 1809. Other names of their contemporaries, familiar in Westminster to-day, are those of O'Dell, Norton, Griffith, McClary, Schenick, Sumner, Burtch, Flanagan, Frank, Goodhue, Caldwell, Elliott, Glass, Owrey, Cornell.

Those pioneers had their trials and tribulations; doubtless they had their pleasures as well. But to the latterday Canadian, surrounded with the comforts, luxuries and opportunities for amusement, the contrast between now and then is great. Some were fortunate enough to bring with them the tools, utensils and material necessary to start housekeeping. But others had little with which to begin life in the woods. They were wise who left their women-folks—if they had any—in some town or village, while the men entered the wild woods, far away from any neighbor, and commenced to carve out a home for the family. Around them an unbroken stretch of forest—the road by which they had reached their destination only an imaginary line where in future a road might be. No sound except such as nature provides—the murmuring winds among the trees, the singing of woodland birds, the chattering of the smaller game as they watched their unknown visitors, while “the wolf’s lone howl” or snarling bark from the dense thicket added a gruesome note to the chorus. And now to build their home, with no material but what the woods supplied, and only the few primitive tools they may have brought with them. Lumber, bricks, glass, nails—such necessities as we should think them—they had not. Undressed logs laid one above another, pinned together with wooden wedges at the angles, the crevices between chinked up with mud—these formed the walls. Limbs of trees supplied the rafters and sleepers. For the roof logs of oak were sawn into three feet lengths, split into slabs and tied down with strands of birch bark. The floor, if one were laid, was made of split logs with the convex side down; windows and doors there were none—the spaces for them being covered in inclement weather with blankets or other extemporized curtains fastened by branches of trees. No time to build a chimney, and no bricks to build it with, a hole in the roof above where the fireplace

should be, gave exit to the smoke. So the home began. As fast as circumstances would permit, and material could be obtained, improvements were made. Doors and windows found their proper place; the chimney went up through the roof; the hearth appeared, with the swinging crane for pot-hook and hangers above it; the single room was partitioned off as circumstances required. And so the pioneers home was completed and assumed the shape in which it would remain while a generation would grow up within its walls.

And now, for many a year, an unending round of toil; for the men chopping the trees, clearing the farm, planting the seed, harvesting the crop, boiling the maple sap, tending the stock, tanning the hides, making the shoes, with an occasional holiday, fishing or hunting, which gave recreation and replenished the larder. For the women: doing housework, cooking the meals, spinning and weaving the yarn and hemp, rearing the children, and doing a hundred other things besides. No idleness, no luxury, few comforts, plenty of work; yet they lived through it all, and made Canada for us.

III—The Founding of London

THE name "London" was connected with this locality at an early period in our history. At first it was only a name on paper applied by Governor Simcoe to the site which he proposed to build a town. Then it was more definitely attached to a section which we now know as London Township. But while the surrounding townships began to fill up with settlers, Simcoe's reservation remained almost intact. Doubtless those who passed by it or over it coveted it, for it must have been rather a pretty place. At least we may so judge from descriptions that have been given of it. Take one alone. At that time, and for many years after, the postal service was part of the British system and the Imperial Government used to send out Deputies to manage the Canadian branch. Some of these men confined their labors to signing their names and drawing their pay. Some were different; and of such was George Heriot. He travelled over much of the country arranging and developing a much needed service, and subsequently wrote an interesting book of "Travels in Canada." In 1807 coming up the valley of the Thames he describes the picturesque scenery on both sides of the river already dotted with prosperous-looking farms. When he came to the forks after referring to Simcoe's selection of a site for a town, he adds: "On the east side of the forks between the two branches on a regular eminence about forty feet above water there is a natural plain denuded of wood except where small groves are interspersed, affording in its present state the appearance of a beautiful park, on whose formation and culture taste and expense have been bestowed."

In 1788, Lord Dorchester divided the colony into districts—those in this part of the province from west to east, bore the names of Hesse, Nassau, Mecklenburg and Lunenburg. When Simcoe entered upon his administration he changed the names to Western, Home, Midland and Eastern. Subsequently there was a re-arrangement. In 1799 the legislature divided up the province into nine districts—Western, London, Gore, Niagara, Home, Midland, Newcastle, Johnston and Eastern. The districts were again subdivided into counties, or circles (though the latter name was soon dropped), and again into townships. These latter were at first numbered, afterwards attaining the dignity of specific names. Middlesex county consisted of the townships of London, Westminster, Dorchester, Yarmouth, Southwold, Dunwich, Aldboro and Delaware. In 1821, Lobo, Mosa, Ekfrid and Caradoc were added. In 1852 the southern townships were removed from Middlesex to form part of the County of Elgin; while Biddulph and McGillivray were added on in 1865.

In the earlier days of the London District, the judicial centre was off at one side, at first a few miles south of the present village of

Vittoria and about fifty miles as the crow flies from the Forks, afterwards removed to Vittoria. That was right at first; because the bulk of the population was in that section. But as the county of Middlesex filled up, it became very inconvenient for people who had business at court to travel that distance. Not only was it a long way to go, but the roads were bad. By an Act of 1793 every settler was required to clear a road across his own lot; but as crown lands and clergy reserves came between lots, the roadway often commenced at one side of a man's farm, and ended at the other. Fortunately the old frame court house burned down in 1825, and at once a vigorous effort was made by the people in the western part of the district to have a new building located in a more convenient place. Prominent among those who busied themselves in this matter were Chas. Ingersol and Peter Teeple of Oxford, M. Homer of Blenheim, Dan. Springer of Delaware, and Ira Schofield of London. These were all leading merchants and magistrates, and while they met with considerable opposition they had sufficient influence to accomplish the purpose. St. Thomas and Delaware—both comparatively flourishing little villages—were anxious to become the new judicial capital. As a compromise between the contestants the legislature declared that it was "expedient to establish the district town at the reservation heretofore made for a town near the forks of the river Thames, in the townships of Westminster and London." It also ordered courts to be held on the reservation as soon as a jail and court house could be built, and in the meantime at such place as the sheriff might select.

Another Act, passed at the same session, provided for the survey of the town and the building of the court house, appointed Thomas Talbot, Mahlon Burwell, James Hamilton, Charles Ingersol and John Matthews as commissioners with instructions to proceed with the work at once; authorized the justices of the peace to lay an assessment on every householder in the district for building purposes of a penny on the pound; and allowed the commissioners to borrow in the meantime, not more than four thousand pounds at interest not exceeding 6 per cent.

The first step taken under the above cited act, was the survey of the proposed town by Mr. Mahlon Burwell. The plan in the Crown Lands Department shows that it contained 240 acres. The river formed the western and southern boundaries of the town; to the east it extended as far as Wellington Street; and on the north it was bounded by North Street, or Queen's Avenue as we know it now. North Street, however, did not run in a straight line. A short distance west of Richmond Street, it turned southwest, to a point on what is now called Carling Street, about where the police court stands, and from thence direct to the river. This was owing to the fact that the land included in the jog was part of a grant made to Mr. John Kent which took in the land on both sides of the river. The land along the river bank from North Street around to Wellington was not taken in as part of the town survey, but was left as a strip of meadow varying in width from one to six chains, and remained

as Government land for some years. An inspection of Burwell's map shows a number of little streams which have long since disappeared. The largest one can be remembered by the older inhabitants. It commenced on York Street east of Wellington and turning south ran between Bathurst and York to the river. It was subsequently covered over as a natural sewer but has fallen into disuse.

The Court House Commissioners met in St. Thomas in March, 1826, and proceeded promptly with their work. Plans were drawn up for the new building, and contracts let without loss of time. Apparently as a compliment to Col. Talbot the plan was in imitation to some extent of his baronial home—Malahide Castle; the architecture being of a style which Mrs. Jamieson, in her book of Canadian travels refers to as "somewhat Gothic." Originally it was about two-thirds the size of the present building, being a quadrilateral, with a tower on each corner. There was no separate building for a jail as at present—prisoners being confined in the basement. The east and west fronts of the building were alike, and one might say that it faced both ways.

The contractor for the court house was Mr. John Ewart, of Toronto. He never settled in London, though he owned some lots here; but he sent up Thomas Parke, father of a former well-known Police Magistrate, who took up land here, and became sufficiently prominent to be sent to Parliament. The brick for the building was manufactured by another Toronto man—Wm. Hale—who also became a resident in London. The clay was obtained from two yards—one at the rear of the present Robinson Hall Chambers, and the other in London West on land subsequently belonging to Walter Nixon.

The erection of a building of the importance of the London Court House, was no trifling matter in those days, and could not be completed as promptly as it might be now. It was not finished for a couple of years. Meanwhile a temporary two-storey frame structure was erected on the North-east corner of the lot, in which the first courts were held. That was on January 9, 1827, when the court of Quarter Sessions met—Col. Ryerse, from Long Point Settlement, presiding. Justice acted promptly in those primitive times. Thomas Pomeroy, a sheriff's officer, had been murdered by one Burley, who was promptly arrested, tried and executed three days after being sentenced. While the lower floor of the temporary jail was for the accommodation of prisoners it was not convenient to keep them there for any length of time; and they were disposed of as quickly as possible.

People attending the first courts did not find it by any means comfortable. Hotel accommodation was limited—extremely—and jurors and suitors were well off who could locate themselves in some neighboring farmer's barn, and find a bed in the hay loft. Of course, there was always the woods to camp in. They brought with them their own meals—boiled pork and bread, or sausages, and hard-tack of any description, with, of course, whiskey to drink. Springs on the river bank provided them with delicious cool water;

but in most cases that was only required to dilute the whiskey of those who did not take the booze in its full strength. It is said that sometimes, after the trial of a case, the jury would retire to the courtyard and have a smoke, while they considered their verdict. If the court happened to be short of constables, one would take the prisoner out and chain him to a stump; then seat himself in a position where he could watch the jury with one eye, and the prisoner with another.

A writer in the *Ancaster Gazette* who visited the locality in 1827 says: "I was much pleased with the delightful situation of the town, commanding as it does a most extensive view of the richest, most fertile and most thickly settled part of the province, besides a delightful prospect of both branches of the picturesque River Thames. The new court house, which is to be a fine building in the Gothic style, 100 feet long, 50 feet wide and 50 feet high, having an octagon tower fourteen feet in diameter at each of its angles, is now building by Mr. Edwards, an architect of first-rate ability. The house in which the law courts are now held is a building erected by subscription and eventually intended for the district school-house."

IV—District Officers



John Harris

THE transfer of the judicial centre of the London District from Vittoria to "The Forks" necessitated the removal of the court officials to the latter place. In order to reconcile them to the change each one received a grant of five acres of land—all, I think, on the banks of the river. Some of these were subsequently sold, or in some way passed out of the hands of the original proprietors, with one exception. The grant to Mr. Harris, the treasurer, still remains in the possession of the family. It may be interesting to give some account, as far as my knowledge goes, of the first court officials on removal of the court house to London.

Mr. James Mitchell was the judge for the district. In those days the chairman of the Board

of Quarter Sessions—a board consisting of the local magistrates—often presided over the court; but, it was always intended, I presume, that a judge should be regularly appointed for each district; and Mr. Mitchell was the first one appointed for London. He was a Scotchman who came out to Canada with Dr. Strachan. For a time he was tutor to James Hamilton's children; was afterwards given charge of the district Grammar School at Vittoria; and finally appointed judge in 1819. He was not a lawyer, but was a highly educated and capable man, and made a good judge—very few of his decisions being over-ruled.

The clerk of the court was Col. J. B. Askin. He was born in Detroit—his father being an Irishman and his mother being of Indian blood. He is said not to have been the most agreeable man with whom to have any dealings. He showed some of the characteristics of both the Celt and the Indian; but they did not harmonize. The volatile nature of the one had to contend with the cold impassivity of the other. While he was active to the extent of fussiness the rather sombre indifference of the aborigine sometimes modified, and at others alternated with the levity of the Irishman. He took things seriously and got excited over them. He could not

understand a joke; and that was doubtless the reason why, during the rebellion, the young men used to play tricks on him, and send him off on a "wild goose chase" after imaginary rebels.

The most important office in the district was that of treasurer, held by John Harris, an English naval officer on half pay, living near Long Point, and married to a daughter of Col. Ryerse. A thorough John Bull, afraid of nothing, ready to take the most extreme measures in support of what he thought was right. He took an active part in 1837-38 in support of the government, though as a volunteer and without any official standing. His connection with the "Caroline" episode is known to very few. He was at Niagara at the time when MacKenzie and his U. S. sympathizers were utilizing Navy Island as a basis of supplies, and conveying men and munitions in the vessel *Caroline*. His experience as a naval officer showed the situation favorable for "cutting out" the vessel. He suggested this to Col. McNab; Captain Drew was called in consultation; and it was decided to make the attempt. Mr. Harris accompanied the expedition, which was successful; and the fated vessel in flames went over the Falls that night. On account of Mr. Harris' position as a retired officer it was deemed inexpedient to make public the fact that he was taking so prominent a part in active service. In 1835 he built Eldon House, which was for many years the social centre of the town. He afterwards became treasurer of the County of Middlesex, and then of London, and died at his home in 1850.

Colonel Mahon Burwell, Registrar of Deeds, was born in New Jersey in 1783. Educated as a land surveyor he came to Canada, and through Col. Talbot's influence secured the greater portion of the Government work in the district. He was appointed registrar in 1812; became a member of the legislature for the county and also for London. He obtained his colonelcy during the war of 1812. He does not appear to have seen any fighting, but was taken prisoner during a Yankee raid, and spent some months in a prison in the United States. I believe he never resided in London. A little brick building on the Southwold town line in which he kept the registry office was still standing a few years ago. It did not amount to much; it was a poorer building than the present London office.



J. B. Askin

The Sheriff was Daniel Rappalge, a member of a Huguenot family settling originally near Long Point, but subsequently becoming one of the pioneers of St. Thomas. He never came to London; in fact his position as sheriff seems to have been nominal—the work being performed by his son as deputy. There was no resident sheriff in London until the appointment of James Hamilton in 1837.

John O'Neil was High Constable. A few years later he secured the Mansion House on Dundas Street and ran it very creditably. He was an active politician in the service of the Family Compact and a leader in the Orange Society.

Other court officials were: William King Cornish, deputy clerk; Samuel Park, jailor; G. Bostwick, court crier.

I have previously mentioned the imperfect accommodations of the temporary building in which court was held prior to the completion and occupation of the permanent building. Garret Oakes, of Yarmouth, who worked for a time at its construction, tells in his pioneer sketches, written, I believe, for a St. Thomas paper, that he assisted Park, the jailor, to finish the court room "in a rough manner." Most of the cases tried here—apart from the first murder case—were of a trifling nature—petty larceny, assaults and civic disputes; and the penalties inflicted were fines, short imprisonments, floggings, and even the old-fashioned stocks. These latter, however, soon fell into disrepute, and by order of the court were thrown into the Thames during a spring flood. I believe the first case tried was that of a man named Reed, who was found guilty of stealing his neighbor's axe—a serious offense in the days when the axe was mightier than the sword. He was found guilty, and served a term of imprisonment by being chained to the stump of a tree in the daytime, and to a block of wood in an unfinished cell at night.

But the temporary building served its purpose, and made way for the new court house, built "somewhat on the Gothic Style," as a traveller remarked. I do not think much attention had been given to the comfort of the officials, or to the proper sanitation of the building; the underground cells in which prisoners were at first confined must have given it the character of a medieval dungeon. The only interior decoration was a finely-executed painting of the coat of arms—the work of a clever French artist by the name of Lefebvre, who evidently understood his business. It is a pity he did not leave a portrait of Judge Mitchell. It might have established a precedent for our local authorities. In an eastern city of Ontario the walls of the court house are embellished with oil paintings of local judges and members of parliament. It is an example that might well be followed by other cities.

V—First Settlers



G. J. Goodhue

As soon as it became known that a village was to arise at "The Forks" business men in the neighborhood began to move in—on the principle that the early birds would get the worm. The first to arrive was Peter McGregor, who located on lot 21, S. King Street. Here he was joined by Samuel Wood, from Long Point; and they started to build a hotel to provide accommodation for man and beast. The accommodation at first consisted of a jug of whiskey on a stump at the front door. Things improved somewhat after a time though McGregor's so-called hotel never amounted to very much. Something better was provided in 1828 by Abraham Carroll, from Oxford County, who built "The Mansion House" on Dundas Street, north side, a little east

of Ridout, which became the leading hostelry on the place. For the first year or two, however, people who came to London on court business had to go out to Flanagan's hotel for a night's sleep, a few miles south, about the locality subsequently known as "Dale's Corners."

McGregor was a Scotchman, originally from Glennaquhart near Inverness. He had come to Canada a few years previously, married a Miss Poole, an energetic Westminster girl, and opened a tailor shop, and, I believe, a whiskey shop also, near Byron.

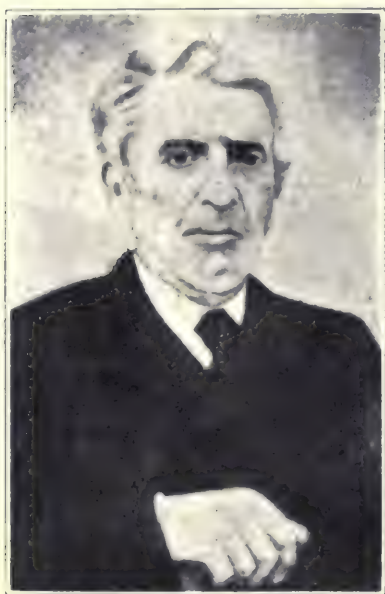
After running his King Street establishment for a time, he built a frame hotel on the corner of Dundas and Ridout Streets, where the present Robinson Hall Chambers are located. This he afterwards transferred to H. D. Lee, and, apparently, retired from business, residing on North Street, east of Ridout, where he died.

But man could not live by whiskey alone, even in those bibulous days. Greater variety was needed; and the general merchant came, prepared to sell everything the settler wanted. Two of them, in fact, followed McGregor within a year or so—Geo. J. Goodhue and Dennis O'Brien. Goodhue was born in the state of Vermont, and came to St. Thomas in 1822, where he clerked for a time with

his brother Jos. Goodhue, a doctor and merchant. Subsequently he started business for himself in Westminster, on the road to Byron, but moved into London, as soon as the village was surveyed, and opened a general store on Ridout Street, north of Dundas. Here he went into business on an extensive scale. He sold everything the settlers wanted, and bought everything they had to sell. He had an ashery on Dundas Street, west of the present Belvidere Hotel, where the farmers brought the ashes they obtained by burning the trees they had cut down on their farms, taking their pay in store goods. Here the ashes were converted by leeching into "black salts" an important article of commerce in those days. He had a distillery near Byron; all business men seem to have run distilleries in pioneer days. He

also bought and sold lands; loaned money on notes and mortgages; acted as a general solicitor, justice of the peace, and agent for anything that would pay a fair commission.

O'Brien was a peripatetic merchant, otherwise pedlar. He was born in Fermoy, Ireland, in 1792, came to America in 1811, settling first in Maine. He moved to Canada in 1820, travelled with his pedlar's pack through the London District for several years and finally located permanently in London village in 1827—though it was hardly a village then. He took up lot 13, south side of Dundas Street, east of Ridout, and here he built the first store. A rude and humble establishment it doubtless was. I am told his counter consisted of a couple of boards stretched across two barrels. But



Dennis O'Brien

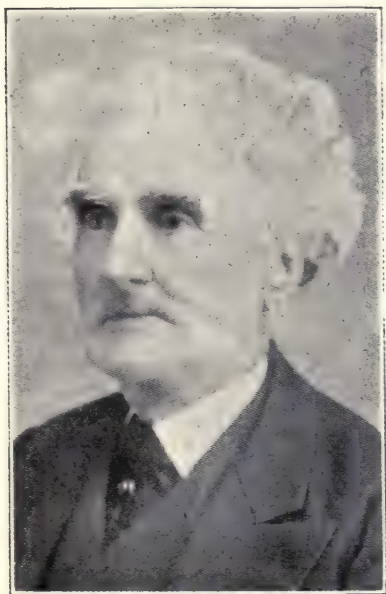
he attended to business and prospered. He was able to build the first brick house, which was located on Dundas Street, west of Ridout. It was a building of considerable size, and was rented by the Government before completion for the use of the military stationed here during the Rebellion.

Apart from the fact that they were both shrewd business men, Goodhue and O'Brien had little in common. O'Brien was a man of medium height, rather sturdy in appearance, vivacious, and genial as an Irishman can be. He attended to business, but enjoyed life. He evidently approved of the sentiment of Dr. Martin Luther's Song:

"Who loves not wine, women and song,
Remains a fool his whole life long."

By the way, let me say, that if the tradition be true which attributes these words to Luther, it is not likely that he intended them to be taken literally, but rather as indicating his opinion that it was a mark of folly for a man to disregard entirely the beauties of nature and the pleasures of life. O'Brien was not foolish in this respect. At the same time he did not neglect more serious matters. As the pioneer Catholic in London he was devoted to the interest of his Church, placed his energy and his money at its service, opened his house for the early missionary to administer the rites of his religion to the few adherents resident in the vicinity.

Goodhue, as I remember him, was less stoutly built, and taller, with a cold penetrating eye, and a countenance not much given to



Freeman Talbot



John Jennings

smiles—a man of business, who thought of little else than business. He came of a radical family—his brother in St. Thomas being a very prominent Reformer. But he never allowed politics or religion to interfere with business. So far as politics were concerned, O'Brien treated them in much the same way. While, I believe, his sympathies were rather with the Reformers of his time, yet he managed to keep on good terms with both parties, and made considerable profit as a government contractor during the Rebellion. Both men succeeded in life, and got what they wanted. Goodhue achieved wealth and position—becoming a member of the Upper House of the Legislature in pre-Confederation days—and when he died was the wealthiest man in the district. O'Brien made money,

but it did not stick so closely to his fingers. And the only public recognition of his services was his appointment to the office of justice of the peace. But he enjoyed life, and secured the esteem and love of his fellow-citizens.

As a domestic reference to complete the picture, I may say that Goodhue's first wife was a lady of the name of Fullerton, after whom he named Fullerton Street. She died quite young, and he subsequently married Miss Emma Matthews, daughter of Capt. John Matthews, of Lobo, a well-known resident of the district, and a member of Parliament. Mrs. O'Brien was Miss Jane Shotwell, of Westminster.

Shortly after two other merchants followed in the persons of Patrick McManus and Charles Henry. They had been pedlars, but opened up stores in the vicinity of the court house square. I do not know anything of their subsequent careers.

Of course many of the first settlers came in connection with the building of the court house. John Yerex and his brother Abraham, carpenters, came in 1826, and took up the lot on the north-west corner of York and Ridout and it was here that subsequently the first native Londoner—Nathaniel Yerex—was born.

Another mechanic drawn to the new settlement by prospects of work was Robert Carfrae whose widow was well known in London only a few years ago by her active participation in charitable work. He used to tell that as he tramped through the country, coming to a clearing he saw Yerex's cottage, and inquired the way to London. "Why you are in London," was the reply. It required spectacles to see the town in those days.

Levi Merrick came in 1826 and built the first bridge at the foot of York Street. Prior to that time there were no bridges over the river in this vicinity; traffic north and south being accommodated by a ferry a couple of miles west of London.

To mention briefly a few others of the early settlers in London: Thomas Waters, a U. E. Loyalist from New Brunswick, came to Westminster in 1820, was the first owner of the Pond Mills, subsequently taking up land along Carling's Creek, where Waters' mill (near the present site of Carling's brewery) was for many years a landmark; John Kent, an Englishman, came in 1823 and took up a farm which extended on both sides of the river from the present Richmond street westward, though his residence was on the west side; Ben Higgins came from Ireland in 1828, first farming a ten acre field near the present Blackfriars' Bridge, and in later years keeping a tavern on the northwest corner of Dundas and Clarence Streets; Andrew McCormick from County Down, Ireland, took up lot 19, north side of York, east of Ridout in 1829, first working at his trade as plasterer, but subsequently becoming a merchant, and a very prominent citizen; Samuel Laughton, the pioneer blacksmith, who had his shop on Richmond Street near Bathurst, and who I am told, had been encouraged to settle here by the promise of a bonus.

A separate paragraph may be given Major Ira Schofield. He was a magistrate and had a distillery a few miles down the river. He

moved into London taking up a large block of land where the Sacred Heart Academy is now located. The first post office in this vicinity had been opened in 1825 in Lawrason's store a few miles west of "The Forks;" but when the court house came to London the office was moved in 1827 to Schofield's log cabin, situated near the present entrance to the Academy on Queen's Avenue. The Major was, of course appointed postmaster—a position which he held until the office was moved in 1829 to a more convenient location in Goodhue's store and given in his charge. Major Schofield sold his property to L. Lawrason, and moved to North Street near Richmond where he lived until his death shortly after.

VI At "The Forks"

LET us turn aside from considering the personality of the pioneers and try to get a picture of London as it looked a few years after it was founded—say about the beginning of the third decade of the last century. There was no photographer then to take a snap-shot which might be handed down as a faded heir-loom; and if any amateur artist tried to paint a picture of his own surrounding—which he never does—it has not come under my notice. But we know enough of conditions at the time to imagine the scene.

A traveller coming from the west might have found the prospect rather romantic. As he approached the hamlet, about to cross the York Street bridge, he would note the rows of butternut trees that shaded the river bank. Casting his eye upwards the imitation Malahide Castle with its towers and turrets would come into view; around its base clustering the little houses of the settlement, like a village on the Rhine in the shadow of some baronial keep. Upon his ear would strike the clank of anvil and the thud of axe, the lowing of cattle and the hum of busy men and women in the little market on the court house square.

But coming from the east the picture would be less attractive. Travelling over rough corduroy roads, wending through the woods, suddenly he would come upon a little half cleared space with a number of more or less unfinished huts in front of the court house, looking smaller by contrast with the big building which overshadowed them; streets there were in embryo, dotted with half-blackened stumps of trees. Men and women bustled about like ants around an ant-hill; occasionally an Indian might be seen stalking along with stolid indifference; or perhaps a white man whose early potations had made him walk unsteadily. If the weather had been rainy the traveller's footsteps over the unpaved pathways would be in shallow mud or deeper mire; if it was a dry season the wind would blow the sand over him. While there might be evidence of activity and energy among the people the prospect would be none too pleasing.

The houses in which our fore-fathers in this little hamlet lived during its first few years were of the poorest kind. Built of logs or pine boards, unpainted, and sometimes unfinished. When Andrew McCormick came to London in 1829, his daughter tells us, they found temporary shelter in a house that had been occupied by the Rev. Mr. Boswell, on York Street, between Thames and Ridout. It was built of logs, but so imperfect in construction that the snow would sift in upon their breakfast table. Ten years later, after the military had come to London, and money was flowing more freely, a better class of houses appeared. A few of them still remain. There is one on the south-east corner of Horton and Richmond Streets. It was built by Dr. O'Flarrity, surgeon of the 83rd Regiment, who

lived in it for a time. It was then occupied by Sir James Alexander, a military official stationed in London for some years, and who subsequently published a book on Canada. Look at it; and if that was fit residence for a family of the British aristocracy in 1842, what must have been the character of the houses ten years before, when such stately edifices were unknown?

Andrew Picken, in his book on Canada, published in 1832, thus describes London as it appeared in 1829: "London is yet but inconsiderable; but from its position in the heart of a fertile country, is likely to become of some importance hereafter, when the extreme wild becomes more settled. The town is quite new, not containing above forty or fifty houses, all of boards and shingles. The streets and gardens are full of black stumps, etc. They were building a church, and had finished a handsome Gothic court house." Mr. Picken was not a very careful observer; that is if his book was not made up altogether from notes by John Galt, the Canada Company's chief officer in the colony, as it was admittedly from that source that he derived most of his information. Had he looked over the ground himself he would have seen as many houses built of logs as of bright boards, and he would not have seen any signs of a church, as it was several years later before one was built.

It is easy to understand how a hamlet of this kind was in a very unsanitary condition. The streets, as has been stated, were of the most primitive kind, unpaved, unsewered, without even ditches to carry off the water. There was a big swamp on the east side of Richmond Street, near Dundas. From the flats on the south and southwestern boundaries of the village, mud puddles filled with decaying vegetable matter gave off poisonous effluvia. Carling's Creek as we now call it was a stream large enough to run Water' mill at its mouth; but a big pond reached from Richmond Street west to Talbot and in a dry season was very unhealthy as such ponds always are. A smaller and more sluggish stream ran westward between York and Bathurst Streets. Wells were open, protected only by a curbing—not always that much—the water being drawn by the old oaken bucket; while pig-pens cow-sheds and still more unsanitary concerns were usually near enough to let their sewage filter through the soil and contaminate the water.

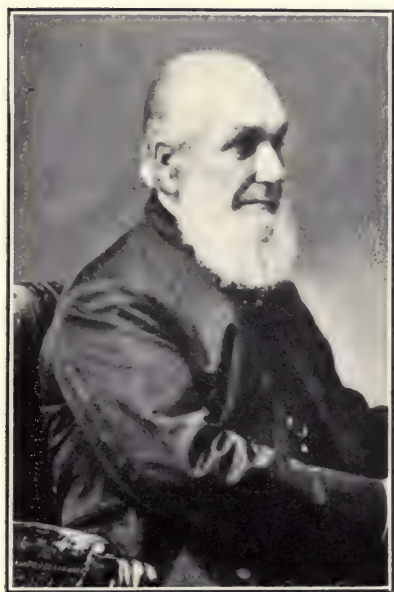
It is no cause for wonder then, that under such conditions disease was common, and that infections spread rapidly, and with fatal effect. A notable illustration is given by the cholera epidemic of 1832. During the summer of that year an emigrant ship arrived at Quebec, with a number of cases of cholera on board; in fact some sixty died during the voyage. The imperfect quarantine measures of the time did not prevent the disease spreading from Quebec westward. It is said that during the summer there were over 3,000 deaths in the colony from this cause. It reached London about the beginning of July. Col. Talbot, writing to his friend, J. B. Robinson, on the 8th of that month, said: "The weather last week has been very hot, and I am sorry to say that a few persons have died after a few weeks' illness, which the quacks pronounce as

cholera." In speaking of quacks the Colonel was doubtless thinking of Dr. Stinson, who, being a recent arrival from the United States, was in his eyes a very undesirable character. However, the Colonel had made arrangements for a better state of things. He goes on to say: "Within the last week I have had the addition of two regular-bred physicians—Dr. Donnelly, of the Navy, and Dr. Rolls, a very gentlemanly young man." Well, the quacks were right; the disease was cholera; Dr. Donnelly himself falling a victim. Many were attacked with it; and quite a number died—just how many, there is no means of knowing certainly, as there was no system of registration. But it was a serious time, for the pest only subsided when the hot weather of summer gave place to the cooler temperature of winter.

So we do not find a very pretty picture of London's first few years. But the pioneers were people of energy, who overcame all difficulties and disadvantages as cheerfully as possible. "Great oaks from little acorns grow;" and the unkempt little hamlet of 1829 has developed into the handsome city of later years.

A line in a previous part of this paper suggests a closing paragraph. I said there that a traveller coming into London from the east suddenly found himself in a little clearing in the forest. That was for many years a characteristic of the place; and was the origin of its familiar name of "The Forest City." Some people to-day have the belief that the name was given it on account of the number of trees on its streets. But it was so-called long before any of those trees were planted. It was essentially a forest town. Standing at the intersection of two streets, whichever way the eye was turned the vista was closed by the dense forest. As the country around was gradually cleared of its super-abundant woods, far-seeing citizens introduced the custom of planting trees along the sides of our streets and avenues; and for once, at least, a municipal council was found ready to spend money, the results of which would not be apparent the same year. So, from the one cause or the other, London has always been justly entitled to the name of "Forest City."

VII—Pioneer Churches



Bishop Cronyn

IN the early days religious teaching, whether by professional or amateur clergymen, was rare, and their visits to the scattered settlements necessarily few and far between. The missionaries of the Catholic Church were the first to enter the field with the coming of the French explorers in the seventeenth century. No one can read the accounts of the hardships borne by these pioneer missionaries, the sufferings through which they passed, the martyrdoms they endured, and fail to be impressed with the unselfish devotion with which they gave their lives to the work of Christianizing the Indians. When the conquering Iroquois swept over the south-western portion of the province, mission stations were destroyed, and missionaries banished; but, as the years passed by, and the trapper and

voyageur roamed over this section, it is quite possible an occasional priest found his way here. But of these there is no record.

With the advent of the English-speaking population, however, there came some adherents of the Catholic Church, for whom no religious provision had been made. Col. Talbot wrote Bishop Macdonnell that some stray sheep of his flock were in this section, and needed shepherding. In response the Bishop visited the settlement, and subsequently sent Rev. Jas. W. Campion, then stationed at Dundas, to visit St. Thomas and London, yearly. That was not very often; and his successor, Rev. John Cullen increased these visitations to four times a year. Father Downie came next, and Father Burke later. In 1838, St. Thomas and London were placed in the special charge of Rev. Fathers Mills, O'Flynn and O'Dwyer, with jurisdiction, however, over a very large section of the surrounding country. For several years after the founding of London the Catholics had no church here, but it was only necessary to send word to Dennis O'Brien, and he would have his co-religionists gathered in his house for service at the appointed time.

In 1834 they built a little log church on the southwest corner of Richmond and Maple Streets. It was not much of a building, and

I was told that when the first service was held the people had only the bare ground on which to kneel. But it served its purpose until its destruction by fire, when they occupied for a time a building on King Street, east of Wellington. With increasing prosperity, however, they were soon able to build a fine brick church with a lofty spire on the ground now occupied by the magnificent St. Peter's Cathedral. The church was a little north of Dufferin Avenue and faced westward.

An entirely different class of missionaries were the pioneer preachers of the Methodist persuasion. They were not ordained clergymen; they had neither learning, culture nor money. With no settled place of abode they tramped the country, exhorting and praying wherever opportunity offered, dependent upon the families they visited for shelter and food. But with all defects of education their zeal and sincerity cannot be questioned, and they doubtless exercised a great influence for good in the community.

London Township had been made a circuit of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in 1823, and in 1833 a meeting house was erected (a rough-cast house) on the south-west corner of Ridout and North (Carling) streets. In 1839 the first substantial building was erected—a frame structure—on the south-east corner of King and Talbot streets. Here they worshipped until their removal some years later to Richmond Street, nearly opposite the old City Hall, and their building passed into the hands of the Baptists. Among the early ministers here were Carson, Stoney, Jackson, Morris, Whitney, Newburg and Bennet.

In those days the Methodists were divided into many bodies. Most of the pioneer preachers belonged to the Methodist Episcopal Church, whose headquarters were in the United States, and which became very strong through the country. Immigrants from England introduced the Wesleyan Methodist, New Connexion Methodist, Primitive Methodist and Bible Christian. These all established themselves through the country and finally united to form the strong and influential Methodist Church of Canada.

In regard to one of these an incident may be mentioned illustrative of early land tenure. In the later thirties there were some New Connexion Methodists here who thought they would like to have a building of their own, and for that purpose obtained from Col. Talbot the lot on the south-west corner of Wellington and North Streets where the Public Library now stands. But their funds ran out before their building was completed, and it remained for a time in an unfinished condition. As there seemed little prospect of the Methodists completing their work the officers of the garrison asked Colonel Talbot to transfer the lot to them, which he did.

That illustrates the Colonel's way of doing things. When a person applied for a lot he got out his map and penciled the applicant's name on the land granted. This was all the title the grantee had until the Government fees were paid and the Crown deed issued. Until then the Colonel controlled the situation, and if subsequently anything did not seem satisfactory to him he simply rubbed out the

original name on the map and wrote in another. So in the present case the words "New Connexion Methodist" disappeared, and in their place was written the name of Mr. Raynor, the commissariat officer, who promptly took out his patent. The unfinished building was completed as a theatre—opened in 1840, and on its little stage strutted for many years the amateur actors of soldiers and citizens. When the troops left London the property remained in the name of Mr. Raynor, who was, of course, its legal owner; and when he died it was purchased from his widow by Mr. V. Cronyn. I never heard if the poor Methodists got anything for what they had spent on their building; but it is not likely that the officers would appropriate other people's property without paying for it.

The condition of the Church of England differed from that of other denominations in Canada. It did not approve of illiterate lay preachers; its regularly ordained clergymen in the province were few in number; it had no spare men for missionary work nor did its status as a state church, governed entirely from England, and depending on state aid, tend to make it aggressive in character. When there were only a couple of clergymen in this district, stationed at Niagara and Sandwich, the Rev. Charles Stewart, a young English nobleman, who had entered the ministry, came out to Canada, strongly imbued with the missionary spirit, and for several years made south-western Ontario the scene of his labors. He preached in London township in the barn on Geary's farm and in other places. He strongly urged upon the authorities at home the advisability of sending a minister to London township, which was growing in population and importance; but a long time passed before anything was done. In 1826 he returned to England, and was consecrated as Bishop of Quebec being the second to fill that office. At that time there was but one Diocese for the entire country now known as Ontario and Quebec.

In July of 1824, the Rev. Alexander McIntosh came to be the first Rector of the church in St. Thomas. For five years he served faithfully not only in St. Thomas but the surrounding districts holding frequent services in London township, and also at "The Forks,"—the name by which the little hamlet of London was known at that time. Mr. McIntosh was an energetic and devoted missionary



*Bishop Pinsonneault
First Catholic Bishop of London*

highly commended by Bishop Stewart. It was very unfortunate that in his later years his usefulness was impaired by the failing so common among people of all classes at that time. He was succeeded in 1829 by the Rev. Edward Jukes Boswell; who came from Sandwich, and officiated in this locality until his removal to Carleton Place in 1831.

In 1832 a number of discharged soldiers were sent out to Adelaide township; and with them came some Irish gentlemen and their families—the Blakes, Cursons, Radcliffes and others. In November of the same year they were followed by the Rev. Benjamin Cronyn, with his wife and two children. He was a native of Kilkenny, Ireland, and a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin. After seven years' pastoral work in Ireland, he decided to follow his friends who had settled in Adelaide. In due time he reached Canada, and after a long and wearisome journey he arrived at London and stopped at the Mansion House for a much-needed rest before continuing his journey. On Sunday he held service; and on Monday a deputation of church adherents urged him to remain with them, which he consented to do. Services were at first conducted in the Grammar School building, lots 21 and 22, Dundas Street, being the north-east corner of that street and Ridout. The south-west corner of Dundas and Ridout streets had been set apart in the name of Bishop Stewart for the use of the Church, and was being used as a burial ground. I have been told that steps were taken to put up a building, but before anything was done it was decided to seek another location, and the site of the present St. Paul's was selected. It was not so convenient for the bulk of the population, but it gave room for growth, for it comprised the entire block. Here, in 1835, on the corner of North and Richmond Streets, facing south, was erected a frame church, of ample size, and though of simple architecture was declared by a traveller to be "one of the finest, and certainly one of the neatest churches in the province." This building was destroyed by fire on Ash Wednesday, 1844; and upon its ruins rose the fine brick edifice which is now St. Paul's Cathedral, though for many years it lacked the transept which was added later. In 1838, when Governor Colborne established a number of rectories in the province, with suitable endowments, one was secured through Mr. Cronyn's influence for St. Paul's, and another for St. John's, in London township.

"Parson Cronyn," as he was familiarly called in those primitive days, was a man of medium stature, well built, with a strongly-marked countenance, and a dark complexion; a lover of out-door life; no ascetic, but a very godly man. Highly cultured, he was well able to more than hold his own in the religious controversies of his day. His sermons were practical, and more impressive than eloquent. In doctrine he was evangelical; and through his moral and mental influence gave the clergy of this diocese a strong tendency in the same direction. In 1841 he assumed sole charge of St. Paul's parish—Mr. Brough taking over that of St. John's. In 1857 the Church in Upper Canada was entirely relieved from its subor-

dination to the State Church at home. By legislative enactment the first Synod of Toronto (covering the whole province) was constituted. And the first thing done was to cut off thirteen counties in the south-western peninsula, as the new diocese of Huron. Bishops had been previously appointed by the Crown; now they were to be elected by the clergy and laity. And Mr. Cronyn was chosen by a decided majority of both Houses. He went to England, and was duly consecrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury. As he was the first bishop in Canada to be elected by the people, so he was the last (with, I believe, one exception) who was installed into office by the ecclesiastical authorities in England.

VIII—More About Churches



Mr Proudfoot

AMONG the first English speaking immigrants who came into this section were many Scotch. Now the men from Scotland are generally Presbyterian, and take their religion seriously. It might be expected, therefore, that Presbyterianism would be established early and firmly in Canada. Unfortunately, they were divided into sects—and each sect was so strongly of the opinion that it held the only sound doctrine while all others were decidedly unsound, that united action was impossible. There were not enough of any one sect (and few of them with any money) to support a regular minister; and they would have nothing to do with irregular ones.

The Presbyterian authorities in Scotland, however, realized the necessity for some missionary work in Canada. Among these was "The United Associate Synod of the Secessions Church," which in 1832 sent out three ministers—William Proudfoot, William Robert son, and Thomas Christie—guaranteeing them a moderate, very moderate, remuneration. They were all volunteers, and started on their mission with considerable enthusiasm. Of the three Mr. Proudfoot was evidently the strongest man and the leader. He was a graduate of Edinburgh University, and had been for seventeen years in charge of the parish of Pitrodie, in Perthshire, where, in addition to his pastoral duties, he conducted with success a classical and mathematical academy.

Mr. Proudfoot left Pitrodie with his wife and four of his children on June 27th, 1832, and arrived at Quebec on the 26th of August. On leaving Pitrodie he began writing a daily journal, and continued this practice during his life. It not only gives a vivid description of all he saw and did, but also his candid opinion of men and things;

at the same time it reveals the character of the man himself as no biographer could picture him. Much of this has been printed by the London Historical Society, and is a valuable contribution to the history of his Church, as well as this section of Canada. From Quebec Mr. Proudfoot started westward, and settling his family temporarily in York, proceeded to the southern peninsula, which he proposed to make his special field of labor. In his journeying through the country he found much to discourage him. Presbyterians were scattered and divided; some had joined other churches; some were quite indifferent as to their religious duties. Here and there he found a minister trying to do some work, and supplementing his uncertain little stipend by cultivating a small farm. It seemed to him that the only kind of minister fit for this country was an unmarried man who could work hard and endure suffering.

He reached London November 8th, and took council with the local Presbyterians. While many seemed anxious for him to settle here they were divided in doctrine, and each wanted a minister of his own stripe and Mr. Proudfoot was not altogether satisfied with his prospective parishioners. Especially the Auld Kirk men who were among the most prominent Presbyterians in the locality and on whom he would be dependent for a large portion of his stipend, did not appear to him to be "of the stamp that the church of Christ ought to be." Moreover, there was another would-be worker in the field. A Mr. McLatchey, a young Irish minister, told Mr. Proudfoot that he proposed settling here, and living with his father who was a resident of the village. He was quite willing, he said, for Mr. Proudfoot to remain also; but the latter did not think that two men were necessary or advisable at that time. Under the circumstances he thought it best to retire from the field and returned to his family in York. However, the difficulties noted by Mr. Proudfoot cleared away shortly after; and in April, 1833, he moved to the village and assumed the pastorate over two churches—one here and the other eleven miles north in the township. His Church in London prior to the union of the different Presbyterian bodies bore the name of the United Presbyterian Church of Canada, generally abbreviated to U. P. Church. It is now the First Presbyterian Church of London. A lot was secured on the south side of York, west of the site of the present Tecumseh House, and on this was constructed a frame building, which served the purposes of the congregation for many years. It stood back quite a distance from the street; and in front of it ran a stream over which the attendants at service had to pass by means of a bridge.

Mr. Proudfoot was one of the leaders of Presbyterianism, not only in London, but in Canada, being Clerk of Presbytery, Clerk of Synod, and Official Correspondent with the Church in Scotland. When a theological college was established in 1844 he was appointed a professor, and taught classics and theology. He took an active part in public affairs, especially in connection with the controversies regarding King College and the Clergy Reserves—a leader in the battles waged against both State Church and Family Compact.

A man of decided opinions, firm of purpose, and frankly outspoken; a masterful man in every respect. While intensely orthodox, according to his own view of orthodoxy, he did not hesitate over startling innovations; as when he consented to the introduction of the melodeon as an adjunct to the singing of the psalms, at a time when the "kist o' whistles" was an abomination in the eyes of the average Presbyterian. He was a man of fine physique—his characteristic build and features being very noticeable in sons who became prominent men. He died on the 10th of February, 1851.

There were some Presbyterians, however, who were adherents of the established church of Scotland and gradually withdrew from the U. P. Church; others there were who inclined to what was termed the Free Church. These finally became strong enough to form a distinct congregation—Mr. Fraser, a banker, being the principal

elder. But it was not until 1842 that they secured from the government a lot on the northeast corner of North and Waterloo Streets, erected a frame building, with the usual tin covered spire, and called the Rev. John Scott as minister. This became known as St. Andrew's Free Church. But the loyal adherents of the Church of Scotland withdrew claiming the land and building. This promised to be an interesting and lengthy dispute; but a compromise was effected by the government granting the seceders the Gore on Richmond Street, north of Kent, where they erected the cruciform building known among the profane as the "Pepper Box Church." Rev. Francis Nicol became its minister.



Rev. John Scott

There may be still a few of the older citizens who remember the Rev. John Scott, the first minister of St. Andrew's and for many years the spiritual leader and personal friend of his people. A well built, dignified, grey-bearded man. Staid and solemn when dealing with serious matters, but with a kindly face and a still more kindly heart. With all the sobriety of demeanor characteristic of his profession there were occasional gleams of the pawky Scottish humour which could make his conversation delightful. Under his ministrations St. Andrew's prospered. But with prosperity came growth of modern ideas; especially in regard to musical service. The majority of the congregation wanted an organ. With this Mr. Scott had no sympathy. He was no weakling to surrender to what he

thought was wrong; but he was not so self-willed as to lead a faction against the wishes of his people. So he resigned his pastorate, and took charge up north—Brucefield, if I remember rightly—and there he finished the labors of a well-spent life.

Other denominations which were organized later need not be mentioned here. A brief reference, however, may be made to one which flourished for a time and then disappeared. The Universalists were for a few years a comparatively strong body. Their minister, the Rev. Mr. Lavell, was a man of marked ability and a popular preacher. Many of the leading citizens such as Elijah Leonard, Marcus Holmes and others attended his services. I am not certain of the actual cause of the collapse of this body; but my impression is that it followed the departure of Mr. Lavell. The prosperity of this denomination seems to depend more on the ability and eloquence of its preacher than on its doctrines and dogmas.

IX—Schools and Schoolmasters

AS the court house neared completion, Samuel Park, the regular jailor, came up from Vittoria to relieve Mr. Peter Van Every of his temporary appointment. The latter then took up the duties of a school teacher, utilizing for some years the old court building. He was the first school teacher in London, so far as I have been able to ascertain. I have not been able to obtain any special information as to this pioneer pedagogue, beyond the fact that he lived in London for some time and owned property on the northeast corner of Richmond and Dundas Streets. Mr. Rutledge and a Mr. Hawkins were the next to open schools, though I know nothing further about them. A better known teacher of this period was Miss Stinson. She was a daughter of one of our early physicians—Dr. Elam Stinson. She was a well educated lady, and with the aid of her niece, Miss Grannis, conducted a very successful school for the short time she remained in London. The building and equipment were not very elaborate. Her first school house was a log building of one room, while the furniture consisted of a few benches for the scholars and a desk and chair for the teacher. Later she moved into their own building on the corner of Ridout and Carling Streets. It is said that when some of her boys misbehaved they were sent down cellar; but as the imprisoned lads found it convenient to get at the jam jars she had to adopt some other means of punishment.

Many of the early teachers were of poor quality, and only took up the business as a temporary expedient for raising a little money. But E. A. Talbot, who opened his school on the corner of Richmond and North Streets, was of a different stamp. He was the son of Richard Talbot who settled in London Township, and was a well educated man. In fact he was quite a *litterateur* though an unsuccessful one.

In August of 1835, Miss Mary Proudfoot, daughter of the Rev. Wm. Proudfoot, opened a private boarding and day school on Bathurst Street. It was really under the supervision of her father who attended to the higher classes for some time. An inspection of Miss Proudfoot's Account Book shows that, in addition to the "three R's," they taught French, music and painting; also, the Shorter Catechism. This looks just a little singular when it is found that out of the sixteen pupils with which the school started, the majority were from Anglican families. In the list of scholars appears such names as Harris, Askin, Wright, Cronyn, Lawrason, Lee and others—names well-known at that time and for many years after. It was an expensive school for those days—averaging, as well as we can understand the varying currency set down in the book, something like five dollars a quarter. After a few years Miss Proudfoot found another occupation, by getting married to Mr. James Coyne.

Perhaps the most notable school here in the thirties was that of Wm. Taylor, an Irishman, from Trinity College, Dublin, and an experienced teacher. It opened on Talbot Street, south of York; then was moved to the north side of Horton, near Talbot. While Mr. Taylor was undoubtedly a good teacher, his pedagogic duties were performed with little regard to ceremony or personal dignity, as I was informed by one of his old scholars. The school room on Horton Street, was an addition to the house proper, and served the double purpose of an academy and a kitchen. Taylor attended to his duties if not in full dress, certainly in fuller dress than usual, for he always wore his hat in school. At times he alternated instruction with the care of the cooking stove—with one hand manipulating the tawse and with the other the frying pan. The boys relieved the tedium of study by putting corked bottles of water on the stove, shying the most convenient missiles at the teacher's hat, sticking bent pins in his chair, and indulging in the practices of studious youth in all ages. Then the teacher would pursue them, with a gad, thresh them impartially, and turn their attention to their proper work.



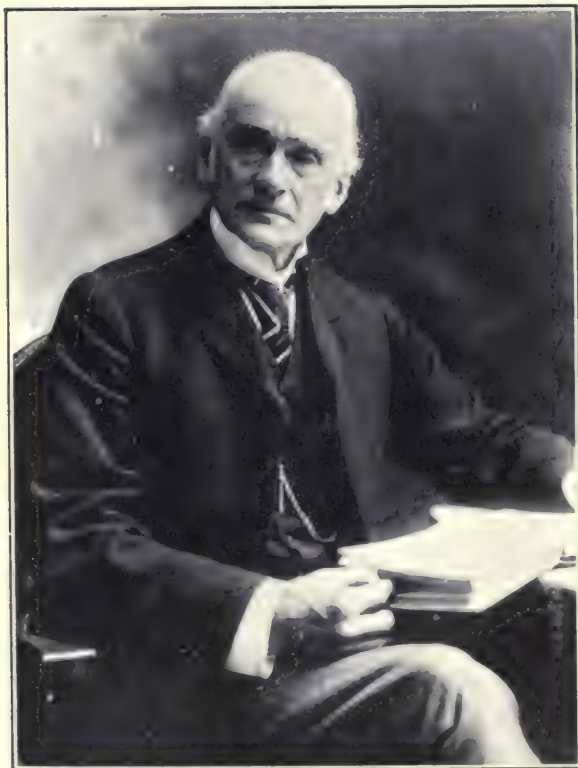
Robert Wilson

Some years later a Young Ladies School was started by Mrs. George Pringle, a lady of quite artistic taste, who taught her pupils all kinds of fancy work in addition to the usual curriculum. Incidentally I might mention that Mr. Pringle was as artistic as his wife. A cabinet-maker by trade, he was an accomplished wood-carver and built the first organ used in London. It was placed in the English Church only a few weeks before that building was burned down.

Another ladies' school was started by Mrs. Richardson, mother-in-law of the late Judge Hughes. These were rival schools; and I am told that when the young ladies of the two establishments met on the streets they elevated their noses and passed on in eloquent silence—the less genteel among them protruding their tongues at the same time.

Robert Wilson was born in Hull, England, and came with his parents to Canada in 1830. They settled on the 4th Concession of London Township, south of the present village of Denfield. Ambitious to improve himself beyond the rudimentary education he had received in England, he applied himself to study; read everything he could; and in subsequent years was materially helped by Mr. John

Wilson. He commenced teaching in his own neighborhood; then moved into London, opening a school on Ridout Street, north of Dundas; later utilizing the Mechanics' Institute building. Here he taught not only the "three R's," but music as well. He seems to have been musician, artist and poet. When the Normal School opened in Toronto, he was the first teacher from London to be enrolled in its classes. While still in attendance there, the newly formed Board of Education in London offered him one of its schools, which he accepted. He was very much interested in the building of the new Union School in 1849—even visiting New York in connection with the plans. It was expected that he would be appointed Principal; but he was only offered the position of assistant. He and his friends said it was a case of politics; which, if true, shows that politicians were interfering in municipal affairs at an early date. Be that as it may, he left the teaching profession, and opened a general store, which had the distinction of being the only store in London that did not sell liquor. In 1854 he was elected to the town Council; but what promised to be a career of usefulness was cut short that year by his untimely death.



Nicholas Wilson

Mr. Nicholas Wilson was a young man from Ireland. Having a fair education he opened a school on Richmond Street, which he conducted successfully. When the newly appointed Board of Education began operations it controlled four schools and Mr. Wilson was given charge of one of them. His name is better known to the present generation of Londoners than that of any of the old teachers, on account of his long service, both in the Union School and the Collegiate Institute. He was a man of fine presence, and of genial disposition, but a good disciplinarian. He did not use the tawse oftener than he thought necessary;

but he was a master of sarcasm, and a tongue-lashing from him made the most thick-skinned boy squirm in his seat. Mr. Wilson lived to an advanced age, having served London for a longer period than any other teacher. On completing fifty years' service he was presented with a congratulatory address and a purse of gold. A brother of Mr. Wilson's, William, was a Baptist minister, in the States.

The pioneer schools were all private concerns; and the teachers had various degrees of qualifications. Any man or woman could take up the business if pupils could be found. But the government at last took up the matter, and legislation in 1847 provided for a better school system. Under the Act, a Board of Common School Trustees was authorized; and the first meeting of the London Board took place on the 15th of January, 1848. The men who took their seats on that occasion were Samuel Eccles, Wm. Begg, Harding O'Brien, Henry Dalton, John S. Buchanan, Henry Matthewson; Henry Dalton was Chairman of the Board, and Mr. John Wilson, Inspector. The first work of the Board was to provide for the erection of a school on ground secured from the government. This was the block bounded by King, Colborne, York and Waterloo Streets. The building was opened for school purposes the year following. Mr. Nicholas Wilson was appointed Principal. His appointment, however, was only temporary; the following year Mr. Hamilton Hunter, a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, was made principal; and held the office until 1855, when he entered the newspaper business—publishing the *London Atlas*. He was succeeded by Mr. J. B. Boyle. It is noticeable that the first three principals of the old Union School, as it was called, were Irishmen—Wilson, Hunter and Boyle. The Irish National School books were adopted as text-books; and it has been said that the accent and pronunciation of the school children of these days took on a peculiar type, which might be called Irish Canadian. A feature of Union School life well remembered by various scholars, was the giving of prizes in the shape of books, introduced by Mr. John Wilson, then Superintendent of Education, and followed by his successor, Rev. Mr. Cronyn—but long since fallen into desuetude—Why not discontinue medals and return to the old custom of book prizes.

Meanwhile what was being done for higher education? On February the 7th, 1789, in a proclamation providing regulations for the Crown Lands Department, instructions were given that in each township a town plot one mile square should be set apart for school purposes; on this plot there was to be a lot for a school-house, a town park of twenty-four acres "common to the town," and a glebe for one schoolmaster, "common to the town"; also, in some part of the township, a farm lot of two hundred acres for the school master. In 1807 a grant was made by the government for a Grammar School in each of the eight districts into which the province was divided. It was not until 1809 that one of these schools was opened in the London District, being located first at Charlotteville then at Vittoria, at that time the capital of the district. Provision was

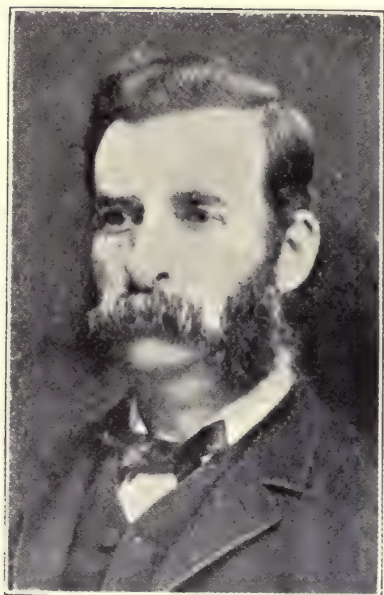
made for the appointment by the Lieut.-Governor of a board of five trustees who would choose a teacher, subject to the Governor's approval. There was to be an allowance of one hundred pounds for the teacher's support. Of course these were not free schools—the pupils having to pay fees for their tuition. Some time after the transfer of the judicial offices from Vittoria to London in due course the grammar school followed, and was opened in 1834 in the old temporary court house building on the south-west corner of the square. And there it remained until the union of the Grammar and Common School Boards in 1865. The Rev. Francis Wright was the first Grammar School Principal in London. I am not sure that he was in charge of the school while it was in Vittoria; in fact I know nothing about him except that he was Principal for four years. In 1841 he was succeeded by the Rev. Benjamin Bayley who for some forty years had charge of higher education in London. His name is still well known to the citizens of London. He was a successful teacher, loved and respected by all those who were under his authority.

In connection with the London Grammar School, mention should be made of one of the staff—Mr. Jas. C. Thompson, a young Irishman, who attained considerable distinction in educational circles as a coach. He took private pupils; and nearly all the boys who were seeking higher education were prepared for their university course by Mr. Thompson. He followed this for many years, until advancing age and physical infirmities compelled him to retire from active life; and he removed to Toronto to spend his remaining days with a relative.

With our modern democratic views it is interesting to notice the educational policy advocated by those in authority in the early years of the province. In a letter from Bishop Mountain in October, 1799, his Lordship proposes three classes of schools; parish schools to teach reading, writing and arithmetic; grammar schools where pupils of the "middle class" would learn English and acquire such a knowledge of foreign languages as might be of use in their future lives; and a superior seminary "where youths of the higher rank may receive an education to fit them for the important stations to which their situation in society authorizes them to aspire." The next year the governor writing to the home government, points out the necessity of a due proportion being maintained between "the aristocracy and the lower orders of the people."

In 1831 Sir John Colborne writing to Lord Goderich and reporting on the establishment of Upper Canada College, adds that a school has also been opened in York for the instruction of "children of mechanics and the laboring classes." It is quite evident from these and other documents in the Dominion Archives that it was the intention of the authorities to utilize the educational system of Canada in building up an aristocratic class separate and distinct from the common people. This, with other ideas held in those days has long since passed into the limbo of musty antiquities.

X—Newspapers and Libraries



Josiah Blackburn

WHILE instruction is carried on in schools it is not confined to the school room. Outside the walls of these abodes of learning there are educational forces at work, influencing more or less all classes of society. And first among these is the periodical press—the newspaper and the magazine.

Of the first newspapers in London reliable information is scant. Very few copies exist to-day, and those that have been preserved would not appeal to the modern taste. Usually, they appear in four page sheets of very indifferent paper, and of various sizes. Special efforts seem to have been made to secure advertisements; the reading matter was mostly reprint—the scissors evidently being mightier than the pen. In later years this condition

improved; but even to-day the scissors is an important part of the equipment of an editor's sanctum. The old-time newspaper man was generally his own publisher, editor, compositor, pressman, and printer's devil. As to his multifarious duties he usually added a lack of money, we cannot blame him if his work did not always come up to modern standards.

Our first newspaper—The London Sun—was started in 1831 by E. A. Talbot. It shone for but a brief period and then its light went out forever. Mr. Talbot was a member of the Talbot family of London Township. He was a well educated man, of considerable literary ability. As early as 1824 he had written a large book containing his impressions of his five years residence in Canada. I do not think the book could possibly have paid its expenses, unless he unloaded it on the Government for use as immigration literature. After the failure of the "Sun" he removed to Niagara, and started a paper there, but with no better success. About 1838 he returned to London, in poor health, with empty pockets, and a large family to support. His Orange friends—John O'Neil and others—tried to help him all they could; and he began the publication of the Free-

man's Journal. This was added to his list of failures; and he died shortly after.

I understand that a paper was published about this time by Mr. Thomas Parke. Copies of it with other documents were stored in the Dominion Savings and Loan Building, and were destroyed by fire in 1900.

It is said that in 1833 a Mr. Bousteed was publishing a paper here, but I have no particulars of its name or its duration. In 1837, G. H. Hackstaff is said to have published "The Gazette"; but the year following the same party appears as the publisher of the Canada Enquirer. When next we hear of him in 1844, his paper seems to have become "The London Enquirer" and was issued from the building on the corner of Richmond and North Streets, nearly opposite St. Paul's Cathedral. In 1845, Thomas and Benjamin Hogkinson, from Port Burwell, published the "London Gazette". In 1836, Edward Gratton issued a small paper called the "London Times", which lasted for only a few months. About the same time there was another ephemeral venture called the "True Patriot", the property of one G. W. Busteed, from New York.

In 1844 "The Times" was issued by Lemon and Hart; it subsequently became the property of J. Cowley, who carried it on for several years...

In 1845 Mr. George Brown published the Western Globe. While it was printed in Toronto the office of publication seems to have been in London for a time—the paper being sent here for distribution.

The Rev. J. R. Laval, the Universalist minister, published the Gospel Messenger; it did not survive his pastorate. J. Burns, a printer, tried his hand as a publisher by issuing a small paper in the interest of the Odd Fellows. It is only a tradition.

The Canadian Free Press was founded by William Sutherland—the first issue appearing January 2nd, 1849. In 1852 it passed into the hands of Josiah Blackburn, who three years later converted it into a daily. It was originally a Reform paper; but in later years it supported the Conservative party. An interesting record of the early history of the Free Press was given to the public by Major Harry Gorman, of Sarnia, in his newspaper reminiscences. A paragraph may be quoted:

"My newspaper experience in London dates back to 1853, when I was engaged with Josiah Blackburn, of the Free Press, as an apprentice. At that time the Free Press office was in a small, one-story brick building on Talbot Street, immediately in rear of what was then the R. & D. Macfie's drygoods store, now Somerville's grocery, I believe. Its rival The Times, occupied a frame building on the opposite side of the street at the corner of Carling Street, then called North Street. It was edited by a Mr. Hart; and Joe Morley, well-known to old-time London journalists, was foreman. When I entered the Free Press office, the whole force consisted of Mr. Pierson, foreman; Jim Sisterson and Mel. Dawson (Col. Dawson) journeymen; and Bill Quinton, Jack Sparling, and

myself, apprentices. Blackburn was editor, reporter, proof-reader, book-keeper, collector, canvassing agent, and knows what it is to run a country newspaper when money is scarce and roads bad. I assisted at the setting up of the first power press used in a London printing office. It was a Northrup stop-cylinder, with a capacity of probably 600 an hour, and a regular corn-crusher. Prior to its erection the Free Press weekly, for it had then only a weekly edition, was worked off on a Washington hand press, an athletic colored man, Hayden Watters, by name, manipulating the lever, Sparling and I responding to the call of 'color,' flying the sheets and folding. In '54 or '55 the first daily was issued in London from the Free Press office."

In 1851, Freeman Talbot commenced publishing the Prototype. He subsequently took in John Siddons, a practical printer, as a partner. Then he sold out his interest to Marcus Talbot, a well-educated man, who was afterwards elected to Parliament for East Middlesex. Paying a visit to Ireland, on the return voyage the vessel was wrecked, and Talbot was drowned. The Prototype was carried on by Siddons for a time; and was then taken over by M. D. Dawson. For some years the Prototype and Free Press were the two leading papers for this section—the former being the Conservative organ, and the latter a strong supporter of the Reform party.

There were two other papers issued for a few years, during the early fifties. The Herald was owned by A. Lepsy, and had but a brief existence. The Atlas lived longer. It was published by Hunter and Rose. The former had been principal of the Union School; the latter was a practical printer. The paper died in 1857.

Another important educational force in the early days of London was the Mechanics' Institute. The idea of organizations of this kind originated with Dr. Birkbeck, in Glasgow, near the beginning of the nineteenth century. It was intended by this means to associate mechanics with each other in efforts for mutual improvement; they were to have classes for instruction in various subjects, principally technical, listen to lectures, and form libraries. The idea became popular; Institutes were formed in all the manufacturing towns in Great Britain; and the movement soon spread to the United States and Canada.

All records of the first establishment of an Institute in London has been lost. The oldest Minute Book which has been preserved opens with an account of a meeting held on January 5, 1841. That this was not the beginning of the Institute, however, is evident, from the fact that the minutes of a later meeting tell of the passing of a resolution to "take over the books belonging to the late Institute." The inference would be that an Institute had been organized sometime before; had done some work; and had then collapsed.

The meeting on January 5th, was evidently one for re-organization. Somebody had prepared a constitution which was adopted. Officers were elected as follows: Marcus Holmes, President; E. Matthews and S. Morrill, Vice-Presidents; P. Tissiman, Recording

Secretary: J. Farley, Corresponding Secretary: R. Fennell, Treasurer. With the exception of Mr. Farley, these officers were all connected with mechanical work, though more as employers than employees. It was understood, of course, that these societies were to be operated by mechanics for the benefit of mechanics. But the London Institute elected to honorary membership a number of the prominent citizens who had no connection with anything mechanical. This was a legitimate proceeding; but they made a mistake when they went further, and began taking as ordinary members men who were not mechanics. There were soon so many of these that some years later, at an election of officers, the non-mechanical element secured a majority of the "seats of the mighty." Dissatisfaction naturally followed; the result was that some seceded, and formed the London Mercantile Library Association, which was supposed to take into membership all classes of society. The Association was not a marked success. It struggled along for a time, then died a natural death, leaving a small collection of books which passed into the possession of the Institute.

An important advance was made when the Institute decided to have its own building. Permission was obtained from the County Council, and a two-story edifice erected on the south-east corner of the Court House Square. It was built of wood—the architecture approaching a Grecian style. The lower floor was used for the library, reading room and offices. The upper story provided an auditorium, and was used for lectures, balls, social functions, and public meetings. Among those who lectured in the Old Mechanics' Institute were Mr. John Wilson, Rev. W. Proudfoot, Rev. B. Cronyn and others. For many years it provided the only accommodation for meetings of any kind, outside of those connected with churches. Some years later, having to vacate the land on which the building had been erected, a lot was secured on Talbot Street, facing Queen's Avenue. Here the Institute carried on its operations; but public interest in the organization seemed to be growing less. It was found advisable to dispose of the building and take rented quarters in an upper flat on the south side of Dundas Street, east of Clarence Street.

For some time a few of the old members gathered monthly to keep the Institute in operation. But the times had changed; and conditions had changed. Night classes, extra-mural lectures, technical schools and free libraries had begun to take the place, and do the work of Mechanics' Institutes. So, at last, the day came when the London Institute passed out of existence. Its collection of books—a rather valuable one—was taken over by the Public Library, which by mutual agreement, became the inheritor of the effects of the defunct institution.

In their time Mechanics' Institutes did a good work; and not the least important part of that work was in preparing the way for the free public library now found in every city and town in Canada.

XI—*Social Life*

THE pioneers found little time or opportunity for amusement and social enjoyment. For the women especially life in the country was both lonesome and wearisome. In the villages and towns it was somewhat better; but the primitive conditions would hardly satisfy a modern woman. There were no afternoon teas, nor bridge parties, nor movies. An evening meal with a neighbor, or some other social visit, provided a measure of recreation. Then there was the soiree, or tea-meeting at the church, where the women strove with each other as to who should prepare the most decorated and best furnished table; and where there was abundant opportunity for a saturnalia of gossip. The men had a better time; for there was always the social gathering in the bar-room, or a neighbor's house, where liquid hospitality flowed freely. Whiskey was abundant; most of the leading citizens made the article and sold it cheap; and nearly everybody drank. Total abstinence, and abstainers were looked on with some contempt. Temperance societies were being introduced slowly. Colonel Talbot, in a speech at St. Thomas referred to them as "those damn cold water societies." It is said that being a good churchman he used to have the settlers come to his house on Sundays for divine service; and in order to encourage their attendance the whiskey was passed around freely. Travellers noticed the general use of liquor by the people. Mrs. Jamieson, wife of the Vice-Chancellor, saw more whiskey than beauty in London, as she passed through the village in 1837. This is how she describes it in her book on "Summer Rambles and Winter Studies:"

"The population consists principally of artisans—and blacksmiths, carpenters and builders are flourishing. There is, I fear, a good deal of drunkenness and profligacy; for though the people have work and wealth, they have neither education nor amusements. Besides the seven taverns, there is a number of little grocery stores, which are in fact, drinking houses. And though a law exists which forbids the sale of spirituous liquor in small quantities by any but licensed publicans, they easily contrive to evade the law. The Government should be more careful in the choice of district magistrates. While I was in London a person who had acted in this capacity was carried from the pavement dead drunk. I find the women in the better class lamenting over the want of all society except in the lowest grades, in manners and morals. For those who have recently emigrated and are settled in the interior, there is absolutely no social intercourse whatever."

But the observations of this versatile and volatile Irish lady, as she flitted over the country, are not to be taken too seriously. The defects that she noticed were common to the times, and were not any worse in London than elsewhere. No doubt, there was

justice in her opinion that lack of legitimate amusements seriously affected the moral tone of the early settlers. We admit the drunkenness. It was a fashionable folly. If she saw a magistrate drunk on the streets, he was no worse than the old-time statesmen of England and the United States, who are said to have frequently finished up a banquet by sleeping off the effects on the floor. A story is told of Commissioner Jones, of the Canada Company, at Goderich, that being asked if a certain person was not drunk at his house, replied: "Upon my life, I don't know; I never saw a man drunk at my house; I am always drunk myself first."



An Exciting Steeplechase

It is not likely that the advent of the military discouraged the drinking customs of the early Londoners; but it gave a stimulus to society life that was perhaps needed. Sports of all kinds were organized; horse-races, cricket, (H. C. R. Becher brought the first cricket set from England), and other athletic amusements; theatrical plays and balls; and society functions, became a feature of London life. Here the young ladies met the black coats and scarlet jackets—danced, flirted, and married. The scarlet color, of course, was the favorite. Miss Lizars found a jingling ode, said to have been written by a commissariat officer about this time, in which a young lady is supposed to have proclaimed the joys of London society. A couple of verses will be sufficient:

"Sing the delights of London society—
Epaulette, sabretache, sword-knot and plume;
Always enchanting, yet knows no variety—
Scarlet alone can embellish a room.
While spurs are clattering,
Flirting and chattering,
Bend the proud heroes that fight for the Crown;
Dancing cotillions,
Cutting civilians,
These are the joys of a garrison town.

"Little reck we of you black-coated laity;
Forty to one upon rouge against noir;
On soldiers we lavish our favors and gaiety,
For the rest we leave them to feel desespoir,
Odious vulgarity,
Reckless barbarity,
We have for such canaille as these but a frown;
While flirting with fusiliers,
Smiling on grenadiers—
These are the joys of a garrison town."

The private residences of those times were of all sizes, and all varieties of architecture. The pioneer in importance was Eldon House, now 481 Ridout Street, built by Mr. John Harris, treasurer of the London district, in 1835. This large frame building, with its extensive grounds, was for many years the social centre of the town, and the stopping place of all prominent visitors. No. 435 Ridout Street was built in the early forties by the pioneer bank of the district, the Bank of Upper Canada, as a place of business and a residence for its manager. The most imposing of the early houses was doubtless Walmington House, built about the same time by Dr. A. Anderson. It is a fine three-story brick edifice, far superior in appearance to any of the houses of those early days. Mr. Lawrence Lawrason's house, built by him on the Schofield land, Dundas Street, east of Colborne, was not so large, and though of brick, was only two stories in height; but the extensive grounds surrounding it gave it an aristocratic appearance. "Elmhurst," the fine stone house, on Wortley Road, was built by Mr. John Wilson shortly after. Large houses of this kind, however, were few and far between. Most of the London homes were either cottages or story and a half houses, and generally built of wood. In many cases the upper room could scarcely accommodate a man standing erect. The material of which they were constructed was abundant, so there would seem to have been no good reason for having the "upstairs" an attic instead of a full-sized story. Glass for the windows was in small panes, suitable to the size of the window. A few of these small houses can yet be seen, one on the south-east corner of Richmond and Horton Streets, built by Dr. O'Flaherty, of the 83rd Regiment, was occupied during

his stay in London, by Sir James Alexander, author of *L'Acadie*, a book of Canadian travels and experience. A few others can be found in the same neighborhood. Occasionally an ambitious householder would build him a brick cottage; but he put in no more bricks than were absolutely necessary. They were very "squatty" buildings—the floor being on the level with the street, and the walls no higher than the price of brick would allow.

But even the most pretentious houses were of the simplest style of architecture—square-built with a hall in the centre, and no attempt at outside ornamentation. The brick employed was often of a nondescript color—neither pure white nor bright red—often of a very mixed appearance. Frame buildings were not always painted; many were left in their original lumber color, to be tanned by the summer sun and the winter wind. No trees shaded the streets; for, as in all pioneer settlements, the great desire was to clear the land as completely as possible. In some gardens the old-fashioned sweet william, larkspur and hollyhock flourished, but high board fences retained their sweetness for the enjoyment of the owner alone.

As the exteriors of the buildings in London Village were very plain, so it may be said that the interiors would scarcely meet our modern ideas of the beautiful in house decoration. The more pretentious residences, while in many cases rich, were rather dull and gloomy. The furniture was often very expensive—mahogany, finely hand-carved, and usually imported. Pictures in oil—the tendency being for family portraits; carpets in dark colors; the wood-work of the house walnut or other dark material. The principal source of heat was a long box-stove in the hall, capable of taking a four-foot stick of wood; while fire-places with elaborate mantel-pieces served as an auxiliary heating apparatus. While there were a few lamps, candles were the usual source of artificial light.

The house of the average citizen was less ornate in its furnishing. The best furniture was of walnut, and pine was frequent; though the former was not much more expensive than the latter, for that kind of wood was abundant. If there was a parlor the chairs and sofa might be upholstered in the black hair cloth, which required the visitor to sit up straight to avoid sliding off; the family seldom used the room for themselves. Generally the living room was parlor, sitting-room, dining-room and kitchen combined. The fire-place provided heat for the room in winter, and cooking accommodation at all times. Here a swinging iron crane gave support to the pot hooks from which depended the various pots as occasion required. In front of the fire a "dutch" oven, under which live coals could be raked, baked the bread, and cakes, and roasted the meat; while fries were managed in a flat iron pan, with a long handle attached; though the length of the handle could hardly keep the good wife from spoiling her complexion. Of course, stoves were not unknown, but many people managed to keep house without their help. Bedroom furniture was not more extensive than was necessary. Our modern mattresses were unknown; but the old "four-

poster" bedstead had for foundation a net-work of rope, upon which was placed a straw tick, to be covered with as many feather-beds as the family could afford. I believe modern fashion is bringing back the old four-poster bedstead. As there was seldom any provision for heating the bedrooms, in the morning the toilet had to be conducted in the kitchen, where the ice would have to be broken to secure the water, or else in the living-room, where the smouldering log in the fire-place through the night had kept the temperature above freezing point. Carpets were simple in texture, where there were any. The most common was the rag carpet, made of long strips of old cloth, woven into motley patterns of the cubist type. If something better could be provided, there was an article called "drugget"—of woollen ground-work, felted, and printed in garish colors on one side. Pictures were not abundant, and were more frequently colored prints than anything else. The fine arts were beyond the reach of average pocket, and decorations had to be provided by the amateur worker in flowers, beads, wax and feathers.

And yet, I presume, people in the forties were as happy as their successors have been. In the winter evening, when supper was over, the two leaves of the table were dropped, and a green or red cover spread over it, while mother and father sat around it on wooden chairs without cushions—the one to mend the children's clothing, the other to re-read by the dim light of a home-made tallow dip some old book, or smoke his pipe in genial chat; grandmother sat with her knitting in the one rocking chair provided for her comfort, while the older children performed such household tasks as had been set, and the younger sprawled on the floor till a warning voice proclaimed that bedtime had come.

So lived the fore-fathers of London. They worked hard, and took cheerfully what little pleasures came their way. While each one strove for his own betterment, they tried to fight fairly and honestly. They formed no soulless corporations to trap the unwary as the spider traps the fly. When sickness or distress came neighborly hands were outstretched to help. They lived in comparative quiet without extravagance or display. If the men spent a little money foolishly the women did not waste it in rich dresses, or in trying to ape the style of those better off than themselves. We have more money and comforts than they had. But wealth brings luxury; and luxury is followed by decadence. With all their faults, and with all our advantages, it may be doubted if our standard of morals and ethics is any improvement on that of the older days.

XII Pistols For Two

IN THE early part of the last century duelling was still recognized as the proper method of settling disputes among gentlemen in cases where the honor of the parties was supposed to be concerned. It has been said that duels took place as late as 1850; but those of which we have any definite record occurred early in the century. Of course it was against the law; and when fatalities occurred the survivor would be charged with murder. But Judges were usually lenient and Juries usually found the accused not guilty. They naturally would if the Bench was occupied by some one like the Irish Judge, of whom it is reported that in charging his jury, he said: "The law says it is murder; and therefore I tell you it is murder. At the same time, I must say, that a fairer duel I never heard of in all my life."

We have the record of at least five duels among the civilian population of Canada. There doubtless were some among the military; but if so, they do not appear to have come within the cognizance of the courts, and they were not reported. On January 3rd, 1800, John White and John Small met on the "field of honor"; White died. On October 10th, 1806, William Weeks and William Dickson met; Weeks died. In 1816, S. P. Jarvis and John Ridout met; Ridout died. It may be said here that the principals and seconds in all these affairs of honor belonged to what was called the higher classes—politically known as the Family Compact. Londoners, however, will be more interested in the two other affairs, which came off later.

Among the immigrants who settled in Lanark County the early part of the last century was Ebenezer Wilson, who brought his family with him from Scotland. His oldest son, John Wilson, born in Scotland, in 1809, took up the study of law, and after being admitted to the law society, was engaged in Mr. Boulton's office. Another student, Robert Lyon, was in Mr. Radenhurst's office. One day in conversation with Wilson, Lyon spoke disparagingly of a young lady of estimable character, a member of the household of a Mr. Ackland. Wilson mentioned this statement to several parties. Lyon, hearing these reports about himself, demanded an explanation from Wilson, and in the course of the altercation which followed knocked him down. On the advice of his friends, though against his own will, Wilson demanded satisfaction from Lyon, in the form prescribed for such cases. The parties met on June 13th, 1833, in a plowed field on the banks of the Tay. Wilson's second was a fellow student Simon S. Robertson; Lyon was attended by a relative, Henry Le Lievre. It was raining hard, and on the first fire both parties missed. Wilson was now anxious to let the matter drop; but Le Lievre insisted on a second shot. They fired, and Lyon

fell mortally wounded, dying in a few minutes. Le Lievre fled the country; Wilson and Robertson gave themselves up to the authorities, and were tried for murder at the ensuing assizes at Brockville, August 19th, 1833, before Chief Justice Robinson. The accused were not allowed counsel under the law of those days, but they defended themselves so ably as to call forth the commendation of the Judge. His charge to the jury, while giving them the law in the case, was really a palliation of the offence committed. He called their attention to the evidence showing that Wilson had no desire for a duel, and had hoped for a reconciliation; but he was of humble origin and consequently felt he had to be more tenacious of his character than if he had been of a higher class. "He saw his prospects blasted if he submitted to the degradation, and was impelled by the usages of society, and the slights he had partially felt or foresaw, to adopt the only alternative which men of honor thought open to him." The jury evidently agreed with the Judge and they acquitted the prisoners. Wilson's brief, pathetic reference to his fatal shot showed his state of mind at the time—"I closed my eyes, and the deed was done."

There can be no doubt that LeLievre was the spirit of evil in this unfortunate affair. Wilson did not want to fight. Lyon admitted that he had only spoken about the lady in jest, and for the purpose of teasing Wilson. With both parties in such a frame of mind, after the heat of passion had subsided, there should have been no difficulty in effecting an amicable arrangement. But LeLievre insisted on going on with the duel. After the first shots had been fired the affair would have been stopped but for his interference, which resulted fatally for his principal. It seems that LeLievre had been paying attention to the lady in the case; but he was not *persona grata*—Wilson being the favored suitor. It is not an unfair inference that LeLievre was influenced by the hope that his principal, who was known to be a good shot, would dispose effectually of his rival.

Wilson came to London in 1835, where he became the leading lawyer. He died in 1869. It may be added that he married the lady whose cause he had defended in the dispute with Lyon, a sister of Judge Hughes.

The next case which I shall describe was that of John Stuart and Captain Grogan. Stuart was a London Lawyer, married to Elizabeth Van Rensalaer Powell, a daughter of Dr. Grant Powell, and grand-daughter of Chief Justice Powell. They had three children. The 32nd Regiment was stationed in London, where Mrs. Stuart became unduly intimate with Captain Grogan (called Lieutenant in certain subsequent judicial proceedings). The removal of the regiment to Toronto interfered with their personal relations for a time. But Mrs. Stuart overcame the difficulty by making a visit to her mother in that city, and eloping with Grogan. Hearing what had happened Stuart followed and demanded from Grogan the usual "satisfaction." They met on the Island in June of 1840. Stuart fired and missed; Grogan then fired in the air. This settled

the dangerous part of the dispute. But if honor was satisfied, Stuart was not; he required more material redress. He sued the Captain for alienation of his wife's affections and secured a verdict for £671, 14s, 3d. Pursuing the case still further Stuart applied to Parliament and obtained an act of divorce from his wife, who was thus left free to marry her lover, with whom it is presumed she lived happily ever after; at least we have no knowledge of the contrary. Stuart left London afterwards; and was practicing in Windsor in 1861, when he was appointed to a clerkship in the Attorney-General's office. Commonly known as four-eyed Stuart.

As the Stuart Act of Divorce (3rd Victoria, Chapter 72, passed June 18th, 1841) was the first of its kind enacted by any Canadian Parliament, it may be interesting to quote the principal clause: — "For as much as John Stuart of the Town of London, Esquire, hath, by his petition, humbly set forth, that he and Elizabeth Van Renselaer Stuart, formerly Elizabeth Van Renselaer Powell, are both natives of the said Province of Upper Canada; that a marriage was in due form had and solemnized between them at the City of Toronto, in the said Province, in the year of our Lord one thousand, eight hundred and thirty-four; that he has had three children, daughters, born to him by his said wife, all of whom are living, between the ages of two and five years; that he continued to enjoy the assistance and comfort of his wife, from the time of such marriage, until on or about the twenty-fifth of June, last passed, when on a visit to her mother in the City of Toronto aforesaid, having eloped with one John Grogan, then a Lieutenant in her Majesty's Thirty-Second Regiment of Foot, and at that time stationed in the said City of Toronto, and immediately before stationed at the Town of London, aforesaid, she the said Elizabeth Van Renselaer Stuart eloped from him, the said John Stuart; and the said John Stuart commenced an action in Her Majesty's Court of the Queen's Bench against the said John Grogan, for the seduction of his said wife, in which such proceedings were had that a judgment was therein rendered for him, against the said John Grogan, for the sum of £671, 11s, 3d. damages, and costs, as by the record of the said judgment, reference being thereunto as will more fully appear, and hath humbly prayed that he might be divorced a vinculo matrimonii from his said wife.

"And whereas the said John Stuart hath made proof of the facts above recited, and it is expedient that the prayer of the said petitioner should be granted; Be it therefore enacted by the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the consent of the Legislative Council and Assembly of the Province of Upper Canada constituted and assembled under the authority of an Act passed by the Parliament of Great Britain, that the said marriage between the said John Stuart, and the said Elizabeth Van Renselaer Stuart, his wife, shall from henceforth, be null and void, and the same is hereby declared, adjudged and enacted to be null and void to all intents and purposes whatsoever."

XIII—Pioneer Politicians



Sir John Carling

WHEN Upper Canada was made a separate province in 1790 it was divided for electoral purposes into 16 ridings—each returning one member to the Legislative Assembly. In 1808 the number of representatives was increased to 25—there being 22 districts three of which returned two members. The franchise was confined to British subjects—owning property to the value of forty shillings.

By an Act passed March 7th, 1821 (Chap. L. I. 60, Geo. III.), the Parliamentary representation was still further increased. A County with a population of 1,000 was given one member, with 4,000 and upward, it was to have two; a town with a population of 1,000 was also given a member. In the first Parliament after this Act there were 38 members.

London, in 1835, had attained a population of over 1,000. It was not a town, however; being then only a part of the Township of London. But the Governor, Sir Francis F. Head, was seeking more support in the Assembly; London was thought to be safe; so London, having complied with the spirit of the law, received the privilege of sending a member to Parliament, and exercised its rights for the first time at the election of 1836.

The political condition of the province at this time was very unsettled. Political parties, in the modern sense, there were none. The terms Tory, Whig, Reformer and Radical were frequently used, but they had not the same meanings as in our days. Strictly speaking, there were two parties only—the supporters of the Government, and the Opposition. And the Government meant the Governor. Responsible Government had not come into existence. Legislative powers were supposed to be vested in the Governor's Council appointed by him—and an assembly elected by the people. But in reality, the power was in the hands of the Governor and his friends.

This official recognized responsibility to no one except the British Government from whom he received his authority. On

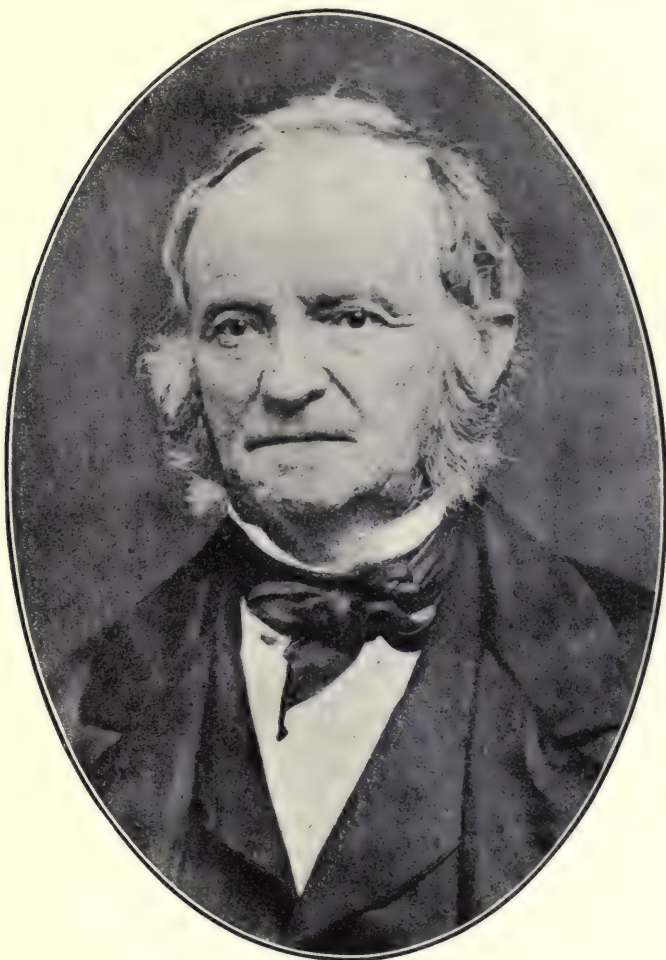
arriving in the province a perfect stranger, he would find a class of people socially and politically prominent, who claimed to be the especial upholders of British connection, and the especial exponents of British loyalty. This class was composed of office holders all appointed by the British Government, together with the leading men of the U. E. Loyalists, spoken of in later years as "The Family Compact." The relationship between them was really one of mutual interests, more than of family ties. They controlled all important offices; appropriated to their own profit large tracts of land; and usually manipulated the Governor. From this class the Governor naturally appointed the Legislative Council. There was no Cabinet as we understand it. The Governor usually selected a few of these as his Executive Council; but even though these were all his friends and supporters, he only consulted them when he saw fit, and was under no obligation to accept their advice when given. The Legislative Assembly was allowed to pass laws; and when these were of a purely local character, the Council would generally endorse them, and the Governor sign them. If they touched on questions of public policy, or trenched on the interests of the provincial aristocracy, they were quietly buried in the Upper Chamber.

It is not surprising that in this condition of affairs, no one but a supporter of the Government would care for a seat in the Assembly. In fact, in these early days, the pioneers of the province were too busy clearing the forest, and looking after their own affairs to be anxious to spend either the time or money involved in attendance upon a session of Parliament and the Governor and his friends had everything their own way. But this could not continue. With the increase of population and the settlement of the land, the evils attendant upon a system of personal Government for the benefit of a few, began to attract attention. Many things were needed for the improvement of the country, which those in authority refused to allow. When agitators like Goarlay called attention to existing evils, they were prosecuted and persecuted—the only result being to make the agitation greater and the Opposition stronger, until at last the latter controlled the Assembly.

At the opening of Parliament in 1835, the Opposition had a majority in the popular house. The vote for Speaker stood 31 to 27, against the Government. The only London man in the body was Thos. Parke, who, with Elias Moore, represented the County of Middlesex. He came to London from Toronto in 1826, having charge of the building of the Court House, and became a prominent citizen; though his real estate was principally in the County. Not a very brilliant man, and not an extremist; a Reformer, and yet not very objectionable to the ruling clique. He was for a short time Surveyor-General in the Baldwin-Lafontaine Ministry. His son, E. Jones Parke, was a prominent lawyer in London, in 1841.

Sir Francis Bond Head reached Upper Canada in 1835. He was welcomed by the Reformers, who, for some reason thought he would be favorable to their views, but they soon found they were mistaken. The new Governor fell in with the oligarchy and was ab-

sorbed by it. He knew nothing of provincial affairs; and was easily led to believe that the Opposition in his Assembly was composed of rebels and annexationists. He was a good talker, but a poor thinker. He had a very good opinion of himself; and a very poor opinion of all who did not agree with him.



Hon. Thomas Parke

Doubtless instigated thereto by his advisors, he dissolved Parliament, and became the standard-bearer of a vigorous electoral campaign. His duty was to waive the flag and appeal to the loyalty of the people; while the Family Compact exercised its influence by ways that were dark, and tricks that were not in vain. The combined forces were successful. There can be no question that they were helped very much by the indiscretion of some of the leading

Reformers who threatened rebellion if their demands were not complied with. The people of the province wanted reform; but they were not disloyal; and they said so emphatically. They gave the Governor a majority in the Assembly, and he took all the credit to himself for it. The result of the campaign did not make him any wiser—nothing could do that. He accepted the vote as a full endorsement of himself and his policy, and an approval of all the evils against which the people had been protesting. A man of more intelligence might have been equally deceived. But the conduct of the Governor and his new Parliament only precipitated the outbreak, and hastened the dawn of responsible Government.

It was in the campaign of 1836 that London obtained representation. The Government candidate was Col. Burwell, described in the accounts of the District Officials.

His opponent was John Scatcherd, referred to among the "First Settlers."

The contest was close; but then the vote was very small—Burwell, 37; Scatcherd, 27. Of course, there were more than 64 property holders in the constituency; but a great many of them were in no hurry to pay the fees necessary to secure their patent from the Crown. Having secured the lot from the authorities, and having taken possession, and built thereon, a man was perfectly safe so far as his right to the land was concerned, so he waited a convenient season to get his deed. Doubtless many of them were not thinking about the privilege of voting, and the first election found them unprepared.

Col. Burwell held the seat until 1840. He never attained any prominence in Parliament; and disappeared from public life when the union of the two provinces was effected.

The suppression of the rebellion in Upper and Lower Canada was followed by Lord Durham's visit to the province; his memorable report on political conditions; and the Act of Union passed by the British Parliament on 23rd July, 1840, to join together the two provinces under a system of responsible government. This Act came into force in Canada, Feb. 10th, 1841. The candidates in London, at the election that year were Hamilton H. Killaly and Jno. Douglas. Killaly was an Irish gentleman, who came out with the Blakes; but while the latter settled in Adelaide, he located in London Township, on the 4th concession, north-east of London, near what is now known as Fanshawe Post Office.

He was a civil engineer by profession, and was a very notable man in his time. He was not a strong politician; for while rather inclined to Toryism, he had a place as Commissioner of Public Works in Lord Sydenham's first administration, as well as in what is known as the first Baldwin-Lafontaine Cabinet. In his younger days he was somewhat of a dandy; but afterwards he would seem to have combined the dandy and the hobo in about equal proportions. He was a warm-hearted, free-handed, Irishman; a great sportsman; a bon vivant; and scattering his money lavishly when in office became a poor man in his later years.

A Mr. Adamson, who was chaplain to Lord Sydenham, wrote a book on "Salmon Fishing in Canada," in which he describes the fishing expedition of a small party including Mr. Killaly. He thus pictures the Commissioner of Public Works: "The most expensively and worst-dressed man on the continent. I have seen him at one time promenading a populous city in a dirty, powder-smeared, and blood-stained shooting coat; while his nether-man was encased in black dress pantaloons, and highly varnished French leather dancing pumps. At another time I have met him with one of Gibb's most recherche dress coats, a ragged waist coat and worn-out trousers, all looking as if he had slept in them for weeks. His shirts never had a button on them, which caused his brawny and hairy chest to be exposed to view; while a fringe of ravelled threads from the wrists usually hung dangling over his fat, freckled and dirty hands. His head was white, and his face purple—a red cabbage in snow. His step was brisk and vigorous, while his laugh was defiant and jocund as the crow of a cock—his voice was like the blast of a clarion." The probabilities are that the reverend fisherman had a fisherman's tendency to exaggeration; and painted his picture in colors more striking than true.

Mr. Killaly's opponent was John Douglas of the firm of Douglas and Warren, general merchants. He claimed to be a reformer. Very little is known of him except that he was a man of very moderate abilities, who subsequently became a bankrupt, and left London suddenly for the United States, to escape imprisonment for debt.

The election was vigorously contested; and marked by the violence characteristic of the times, as well as by the trickery characteristic of later days. The law had been changed so that while there was still a property qualification for elections, there was a loophole of which advantage was taken. If a man squatted on Government land, built a house on it, and lived there, he was entitled to a vote. With the connivance of the officers of the Garrison, several little shacks were erected, during the election week on some crown lands, and occupied by soldiers who slept there one night; and next morning presented themselves at the polls and voted for Killaly.

Of course, the friends of Douglas were indignant; and showed their feelings by pelting Col. Wetherall's house with stones, and smashing his windows. The same treatment was accorded Mr. Givens, Killaly's legal adviser. Shortly after, the Magistrates offered a reward of £40 for the discovery of the rioters; but, as usual with political offenders, they were not found.

Killaly was elected by a small majority; and as previously intimated, was called to the Executive Council by Lord Sydenham, and made Commissioner of Public Works. In this capacity he rendered good service to this section of the country. He secured an appropriation of \$400,000 for work in the London District. The Hamilton road, the Port Stanley road, the Longwoods road and the Sarnia road were all graded, and also planked for a considerable distance. Mr. C. S. Gzowski, a Pole, who had to fly from his country for rebelling against the Russian Government, had charge of this work, and lived in London most of the time.

In 1841, Mr. G. J. Goodhue, a prominent business man of London, was appointed to the Legislative Council. He was nominally a Reformer; but not an active one like his brother in St. Thomas; and his social relations were largely with Tories. Though not a very loveable man, he had a great deal of influence in the community, as many of the settlers were indebted to him by note or mortgage. A vacancy occurring in the Council, the Governor expressed himself as willing to appoint whoever might be the choice of the people of the district. Mr. Goodhue had influence; but proposed to get more. He was known to be very indifferent in religious matters, and no church goer; nor was he noted for charitable expenditures. But at a Methodist tea-meeting, he surprised everyone by a contribution of \$50. This would be a large sum in those days from anyone; but coming from Mr. Goodhue, was absolutely startling. The Methodists concluded that he had been converted; and great things were expected from him. Their influence thrown into the scale, doubtless helped his appointment. Whereupon he became an adherent of the church of England and a supporter of the Family Compact. He remained in the Council until Confederation; but appears to have taken no prominent part in public affairs.

Lord Sydenham's administration, as it may be called, contained two London men—Killaly, Commissioner of Public Works, and Parke, of Middlesex, Surveyor-General. The Governor died the following year; and was succeeded by Sir Chas. Bagot. He was a Tory in British politics; but he understood that he was to take for his advisors those who had the confidence of the people; and so the La'ontaine-Baldwin Ministry came into power. In 1843 he was succeeded by Sir Charles Metcalf. The new Governor had no sympathy with the new idea of responsible government; and it is supposed that his instructions from the Colonial Secretary were in accord with his own views. As he at once commenced making appointments without consulting his Ministry, they promptly resigned—all except Mr. Dominick Daly, who never had any opinion at variance with those of his Governor. Sir Charles could not find anyone to take the responsibility of Government; and so with the aid of Mr. Draper, a member of the Legislative Council, he undertook to run the country himself. Parliament was dissolved, and an election ordered in November. The Governor appealed to the loyalty of the people, assuring them that the policy of his late advisors endangered British connection; and the appeal was successful. A majority was returned ready to support the Governor; and among them came, as representative from London Lawrence Lawrason.

Our new member was one of the first settlers—originally a partner of Geo. J. Goodhue, but afterwards in business for himself. He had always been opposed to the reformers, and a very active loyalist during the rebellion. His opponent was J. Duggan, of Toronto. He was a lawyer, with red hair, fond of talking; but with no claims on London; and the result of the election was a strong hint for him to go home to Toronto and stay there.

Mr. Lawrason was elected; but did not retain his seat very

long. The Governor was having some difficulty in Parliament. Though he had a majority in the Assembly, his chief advisor, Mr. W. H. Draper, was in the Council. It was thought necessary that he should obtain a place in the popular branch; and Mr. Lawrason vacated his seat in London, and the premier was duly elected there in 1845.

Though London was usually to be depended upon by the Government of the day, yet it was good fighting ground. Even the Governor's Chief Advisor could not get the seat without a struggle. His opponent was John Farley, referred to in another sketch. Being an opponent of Mr. Draper's I assume his political views were adverse to Governor Metcalfe and his irresponsible system. As was usual in those days, people who opposed the Government were all classed as rebels, anarchists, infidels and everything else that was bad; and, of course, Farley had to be the recipient of much abuse, and slander. Mr. Draper made a personal canvass. He was a smooth talker and could extend the "glad hand" to the electors in a charming manner. All good men were urged to array themselves on the side of righteousness and loyalty. Which of course, they did; and Mr. Draper's majority was large enough to prove the high moral standard of the London electorate.

The new member, Mr. W. H. Draper, was one of the most noted men in Canadian history. In his subsequent career as a judge he had the esteem and respect of all classes to a very high degree. But as a politician, he did not meet with unanimous approval. As to his ability there was no question; and his oratory was of so persuasive a type that he was commonly called "Sweet William". But his enemies said he was insincere and unscrupulous. A Kingston paper of the time thus describes him: "The most plausible of mortals; bland, insinuating, persuasive, and somewhat eloquent. When speaking, one would suppose he was honesty personified. If you don't look out he would make you believe he is the most candid open and frank of all public men; but all the time he is squirming, twisting and moulding a delicate little loop-hole which few but, himself can see, out of which he will afterwards creep; and no one can accuse him of inconsistency."

Of course this picture is drawn by an opponent; and must be toned down a little. But there is no doubt, he was strongly reactionary in politics; and opposed to responsible Government.

Mr. Draper's administration lasted till the election of 1848. He was occasionally defeated in the Assembly; but held on as long as the Governor wanted him. The election of 1848, however, left his party in a decided minority; the new Governor, Lord Elgin, was determined to carry out the principle of responsible Government, and called in Messrs. Baldwin and Lafontaine, who formed one of the strongest administrations Canada ever had. Mr. Draper, foreseeing the results of the election, had resigned office into the hands of Mr. Sherwood, and was not a candidate at the election ensuing. London had the great honor of being represented by a premier; but otherwise received no benefit.

Opportunity being thus given for a local man, Mr. John Wilson became a candidate and was elected. He was a popular man, and had no trouble in receiving an election by acclamation. In politics he was a supporter of the Sherwood Administration, but was by no means a rabid partisan.

This election resulted in a victory for the Reformers; the Government was defeated by a vote of 54 to 20 for the speakership; and Messrs. Baldwin and Lafontaine again came into power.

Meanwhile, as has been intimated, Lord Elgin had been appointed Governor. He was the first Governor who really established responsible Government in Canada; and he did it at some inconvenience to himself. A bill was passed through Parliament, providing payment for losses incurred by Canadians during the rebellion. Of course, loyal citizens were the parties to be benefitted; but as the only proof of disloyalty was active participation in the rebellion, the Opposition took the ground that many who were really rebels, but against whom no proceedings had been taken, would come under its provisions. A great outcry was raised, and the Governor was asked to reserve the bill for the consideration of the Home Government. But he held that this was a local affair—passed by a large majority in a newly elected parliament; and that, therefore if responsible Government was to be a reality, he had no option in the matter. And so he approved the bill. At once the rampant loyalty of the rabble broke forth in active demonstrations stimulated by incendiary speeches of public men. The Governor was stoned in his carriage; the Parliament buildings were burned down; and the rioters ruled the streets of Montreal. With the aid of the Militia they were finally quelled and peace restored, but at a great loss of property, and even of some lives.

As soon as Parliament could reassemble, violent speeches were made by some of the Opposition leaders, and the course taken by them was actually an endorsement of the rioters. This was more than Wilson could stand. He strongly condemned both the rioter and his sympathizers; but he was too honest a man to support his own leaders when he thought they were wrong; and while he never became a Reformer in name, he was no longer considered a loyal party man; and thenceforward occupied an independent position in the Assembly.

In London, some of his supporters were very indignant on account of the course he had followed; and he was charged with being a traitor to his party. He promptly resigned his seat, and offered himself for re-election, so that his constituents might have an opportunity of pronouncing judgment. His opponent at the by-election was Thos. C. Dixon, who kept a hat store. In England, Mr. Dixon, had been a dissenter, and a Reformer; in Canada he became a High Churchman and a rabid Tory. He was now to be the chronic opponent of Wilson, with varying success. In his first attempt he was defeated. Mr. Wilson was personally very popular, and carried with him in this election not only the Reform vote, but

a large section of the Conservatives who admired his independence and agreed with his views in regard to the Montreal riots.

The London sympathizers with the rioters, however, did not confine themselves to criticism of the representative in Parliament. In March there was a riotous meeting held; and the Governor was burned in effigy. The Mayor, T. C. Dixon, declined to interfere; but no harm was done.

In the autumn of this year, Lord Elgin paid a visit to the western part of his jurisdiction; and when he reached Hamilton it was proposed in the Council to invite him to London. The Mayor balked, and vainly attempted to adjourn the Council; but the motion passed; and the invitation was accepted. Preparations were made for this reception, on the 3rd of October; some arches were erected; and in view of threats of violence freely uttered, a sturdy band of His Excellency's friends, armed with cudgels, walked out to Dorchester to escort him to the village. While they were gone, the so-called loyalists chopped down the arches. When the Vice-regal party reached the village, and his local escort saw what had been done, the atmosphere became sulphurous; and shillalys were flourished. But the Mayor and his gang had expended all their energy on the arches, and sought shelter. The Governor went to the Robinson Hall Hotel quietly, where he addressed the people; and the little tempest in a tea-pot subsided.

At the next general election, 1851, Mr. Dixon was the victor. This, however, was largely due to the fact that some expressions used by Mr. Wilson in a speech in Parliament, were considered insulting to the Irish, who all voted for Dixon, not because they wanted him—but because they wanted to punish their too outspoken representative. What he did say was, Irishmen were not fit to carry fire-arms.

But London returned to its allegiance in the general election of 1854, and Mr. Wilson was again elected over Mr. Dixon. This was the last appearance of the latter in public life. He soon after became bankrupt and left for a more congenial clime south of the lines.

Mr. Wilson continued to represent London until 1857. During this time he occupied an independent position in Parliament, and was recognized as one of the ablest men in that body. Had he been a straight party-man, he would have become a leader. Indeed, from reports, it is possible he was looked upon as a man who ought to be premier. Baldwin and Lafontaine had retired from Parliament, and had been succeeded by Mr. Hincks. But a disintegration of parties was beginning. A section of the Reformers led by George Brown, ceased to support the Government—claiming that Mr. Hincks was not a good enough Reformer for them. On the other hand, a younger element in the Tory party, led by John A. McDonald, who realized that the time had gone by for antiquated politics, was growing in influence. At the election of 1854, the Government was left in a minority. There were three parties in evidence—the Reformers, the Tories, and the Clear Grits or radical Reformers. The Government party was the strongest of the three; but were in

a minority of the whole House. Each party began pulling the wires on its own behalf. It has been stated that Mr. Hincks proposed to unite the two sections of the Reform party with Mr. Wilson as leader; but that Brown, refused his consent. While the Hon. Jas. Young, of Galt, in his published "reminiscences," mentions this report, I have not been able to obtain any proof of its truth. Mr. Hincks, in a lecture in later days, detailing the circumstances connected with the defeat of his Government, said nothing about this plan; and Mr. Wilson's brother-in-law, Judge Hughes, who knew as much of his affairs as anyone, tells me he has no knowledge of it. Possibly it was only something thought of but not attempted. But it might have been a good scheme. Both sections of the Reform party could have united under Mr. Wilson; they certainly would not under either Mr. Hincks or Mr. Brown. If the latter had been opposed to a combination under Mr. Wilson, the result did not improve things for him. For there came about a coalition between the Government and the Tories; and though Sir Allan McNab was made premier for the time, John A. Macdonald was the leading spirit under whom the moderate Reformer and the new school Conservative coalesced into what has since been known as the Liberal-Conservative party.

Mr. Wilson retired from the Assembly at the dissolution of Parliament in 1857; He did not, however, give up all interest in public affairs; for in 1863 he was elected to the Legislative Council by the St. Clair Division. But before he took his seat he was appointed as a judge—a position which he filled with honor until his death.

While Mr. Wilson was a very strong man in London, he was too independent to give satisfaction to the leaders of the political parties. The Conservatives especially were on the look-out for a suitable representative. In 1854 Mr. Spence, Postmaster-General, and Mr. Cayley, Inspector-General, were in London, in connection with the purchase of a site for a Post Office building; and were brought into close relationship with Mr. John Carling, from whom the land was subsequently purchased. Their association with Mr. Carling gave them a good opinion of his merits. He was a young man, taking a prominent part in Municipal affairs—both in the Council and the School Boards. Almost a native of the town (he was born in London Township), he was well-liked by all classes of the people. A man of fine presence, with a genial manner, and above all with a high reputation for honesty, he certainly appeared to possess the necessary qualifications for a parliamentary candidate. Messrs. Spence and Cayley, it is said, took the opportunity of their visit to make careful enquiry of Mr. Carling's fellow-citizens as to his character, and were able to give a good report to their leader, Mr. John A. Macdonald.

A year or two later Messrs. Carling and Macdonald met in Hamilton, at a meeting of Great Western Railway directors, and the Premier urged upon the young Londoner to offer himself as a candidate at the next election. Some correspondence with London

Conservatives followed; and the result was that at the election of 1857, Mr. Wilson retired, and Mr. Carling became the Conservative candidate.

Both candidates at this election were straight party men. The Reformers nominated Mr. Elijah Leonard, one of the principal local manufacturers. Mr. Carling was elected by a majority of over 600. But Mr. Leonard recovered from his defeat by being elected to the Legislative Council for the Malahide Division, in 1862. Both men were in the public eye as long as they lived. Mr. Leonard was in the Council until Confederation, when he was appointed to the Senate and held that position until his death in 1891. Mr. Carling became a Cabinet Minister both in this Province, and in the Dominion; was appointed to the Senate first in 1891 and again in 1896; received a Knighthood in 1893; and died full of years and honor in 1911.

In speaking of the politicians of early London, I have confined myself to the candidates, who were, of course, the representative men. But in those days, as now, while the candidates were in the lime light, the men behind the scenes, who made and unmade candidates, were important people—sometimes more important than the men elected to represent them. The names of some of these can be given; but others have been forgotten.

John Harris, the County Treasurer, a retired naval officer; John B. Askin, Clerk of the Court; Jno. O'Neil, keeper of the Mansion House and leader of the Orangemen; James Given, a pioneer lawyer, afterwards County Judge; Murray Anderson, a dealer in stoves and tinware; W. Barker, agent for the Renwick estate, and one of our first mayors; H. C. R. Becher, who divided with John Wilson the leadership of the local bar; these, with others, were among the practical politicians of their time.

As to political campaigns, it may be said that they were conducted as they are to-day, only more so. The orators and canvassers of each party presented their arguments with embellishments. Facts were buttressed with fictions. Personal abuse and misrepresentations were permissible weapons. Debates were stormy and were enlivened by cudgels and fists. An occasional riot only added interest to the contest of tongues. An election lasted for several days, and was by open vote. At the close of each day the opposing forces would compare the votes cast, and gather encouragement or the reverse as the case might be. Schemes would be devised for the next day's fight; and plans laid to bring out the electors who would vote right, and keep away those who would vote wrong. Meanwhile whiskey flowed more freely than usual; cajolery or bribery, violence or trickery, would be brought to bear as the case might require; the end always justified the means.

Pessimists to-day lament the evils connected with politics; and doubtless there is plenty of room for improvement. But when we compare the present with the past, we may congratulate ourselves on a higher standard of political morality than our grandfathers possessed; and be encouraged in the hope that the same rate of progress will develop still higher standards in the future.

XIV—Gentlemen of the Long Robe



William Horton

IN A previous sketch I have made some reference to James Mitchell, the first Judge of the London District. He was not a lawyer, but a well educated Scotchman, who had come to Canada with Dr. Strachan, and was the first Head Master of the District Grammar School, at that time located in Vittoria, and was appointed judge of the district in 1819. This was not an unusual procedure. Qualified lawyers were scarce; and the authorities were glad to utilize a layman with a little common sense, when they could find him. Mr. Mitchell came to London, with the other court officials, and filled his place very creditably for some years. Physical infirmities, however, (largely the result of the customs of his day) rendered him unfit for his duties to a great extent, and it became necessary to appoint a

junior judge. For this position Mr. William Young, an English Attorney then resident in Caradoc, was chosen. He knew nothing (and cared nothing) for conditions in Canada. He had only immigrated to this country because he had been a failure by reason of dissipation; he was not likely to be a success here. Physical and mental health both gave way and he did not fill his place very long—dying soon after. Mr. Roland Williams succeeded him—a respectable lawyer, he resided on a farm in Westminster Township, much to the inconvenience of those who had to deal with him. However, he soon became incapacitated from disease and died after only a few years' service. The authorities were no more fortunate in their next appointment. Judge W. Henry Allen was an English Barrister who came here from the West Indies. He knew nothing of Canadian affairs nor Canadian laws; his administration of justice was very unsatisfactory and the Government dispensed with his services. The next judge, James Givens, was a better lawyer and a better man than some of his predecessors. His father was a British Officer and served on General Simcoe's staff. He received an appointment to a Government office, and became a permanent settler in Canada. His

son studied law, and commenced practice in St. Thomas. When the Bank of Upper Canada opened a branch in London, 1835, Mr. Givins was appointed solicitor and changed his residence to be near his clients. He took an active part in municipal matters, and was a member of the first Police Board when London became



Judge William Elliott

a village. He did not occupy the position of judge very long—dying soon after his appointment. His successor was Hon. James E. Small, who had been Solicitor-General in the Baldwin Ministry. He probably was a better politician than a judge; and it was said of him that he never allowed his judicial duties to interfere with his dinner. He was the immediate predecessor of the late Judge William Elliott.

The first lawyer to practice in London was John Tenbroeck. He was of U. E. L. family, originally from Holland—his father, Captain Jacob Tenbroeck, having fought for England in the American revolution, for which he received a grant of three hundred acres in Grantham Township. John seems to have been a man of considerable ability. A correspondent in the *Ancaster Gazette* under date

of July 31st, 1827, gives an amusing account of a trial he witnessed in the London Court House. The parties in the case were a little Irish pensioner and a big Yankee from Delaware. The latter had been indulging in the usual "spread-eagleism," including a little abuse of England. This offended the Irishman, who promptly assaulted the Yankee, and by a well directed blow on his mouth knocked out some of his teeth. He was defended by Mr. Tenbroeck in an eloquent speech that did not prevent his being found guilty, but his punishment was only a fine of a shilling. Mr. Tenbroeck might have been a good lawyer, but he was a poor financier. He was addicted to the social customs of the times; and it was probably this which developed a chronic inability to pay his debts. In those days jurors were paid a small fee for their services, and a fee—a little larger—went to the judge. It is said that when Mr. Tenbroeck had a case in court no verdict was given until all fees were paid. I do not know that he ever took up a permanent residence in London. At all events he died soon after the court was moved here.

One of the principal lawyers in London in the early days was John Wilson, born in Paisley, Scotland, in 1809. He came to Canada as a boy and worked on a farm in Lanark County. Here he met with

friends who encouraged him in his desire to study law and rendered him material aid. In 1834 he settled in London where he at once obtained a lucrative practice. He deserved it; for with a thorough knowledge of law he possessed a shrewd common sense, a fluent tongue, and a sincere sympathy for those who were unfortunate.



Hon. John Wilson

His office was for many years a school for law students, and not a few who became prominent in after years, had their training there.

Among these was H. C. R. Becher, a young Englishman of good family, who left home to seek his fortune in the new lands beyond the seas. When he left his preceptor's office he began practice in London. His success as a lawyer was not far behind that

of Wilson; and thereafter the two men took almost equal rank as leaders of the local bar. In appearance and in character they were in marked contrast. Wilson was burly, with rather coarse and ruddy features, careless in dress, frank and free in manner, sometimes rude in speech. Becher was tall and slim, with sallow complexion, gentlemanly in appearance, smooth spoken and courteous. Both took an active part in public affairs, but with unequal success. Wilson represented London in Parliament for many years, and finished his career on the Bench. Becher was defeated by Morril when he ran for Mayor, and by E. Leonard for Parliament. His only public office was an occasional seat in the village council, for which body, for a short time, he acted as solicitor.

In this connection it may be noted that Mr. Edward Bayly, Deputy Attorney General for Ontario, is a grandson of the Honorable John Wilson and the Rev. Benjamin Bayly, for many years head master of the London Grammar School. Mr. Bayly was born at "Elmhurst," in South London, October 25th, 1865; B. A., of the Toronto University; called to the Bar in 1890; attached to the Attorney General's Department since May, 1907; created K. C., 1908; received present appointment October, 1919.

D. J. Hughes, was a Devonshire lad, coming to Montreal in 1832. Shortly after his father died and he was adopted by a friend of the family. He was ambi-

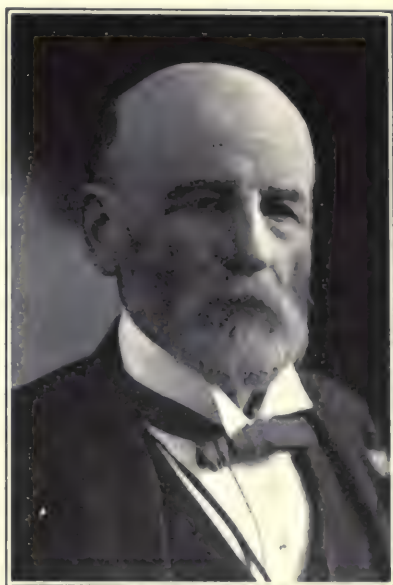
tious; and in 1835 he came to London, and was articled with Mr. Givens—subsequently he studied law in Wilson's office. After being called to the bar he practised for a time in Woodstock, returning to London in 1847, and entering into partnership with his preceptor, who was also his brother-in-law. In 1853 he was appointed first County Judge of Elgin, and held that position until his death at the advanced age of ninety years.

W. King. Cornish was very prominent in the early days, taking



Mr. Ed. Bayly, K. C., Deputy Attorney-General

quite an interest in municipal affairs, being village clerk for a time. The Law Society has no record of his being called to the bar; it may be assumed, therefore, that he was only an attorney. He has long been forgotten; but the name is well remembered in the person of his son, Francis Evans, who was called to the bar in 1855. He was a noted Orangeman of his time; was mayor of London for three years; subsequently removed to Winnipeg, where he was elected to the same position. He was a very popular man, but rash and impulsive, and was known to violate some of the City by-laws with more or less impunity. His last notable exploit in London was an altercation with Major Bowles at a military ball in the Tecumseh House, which resulted rather disastrously for the Major.

*Thomas Scatcherd**E. Jones Parke*

It was followed by the withdrawal of the military from London. The reason given by the authorities for this action was that the military had been insulted by the Mayor of London and no apology offered.

Mr. Thomas Kier came from Scotland where he had been a writer to the Signet,—thus belonging to an important body of lawyers in that country. He knew nothing of Canada or Canadian laws; and a few months spent in a lawyer's office, in Dundas, were not enough to rid him of his knowledge of Scotch law. Under the circumstances it was not to be expected that he would be a success as a legal practitioner in this country.

William Horton was called to the bar in 1839 and practised in London for some years. He was considered a good lawyer; but

when Recorders' Courts were established (ante-dating our present County Courts) his appointment as Recorder removed him permanently from the sphere of active practice, in which he would have been recognized as a leader.

James Shanly came of a good Irish family. He studied law in John Wilson's office, and was a well reputed practitioner, so that his appointment to the important office of Master in Chancery was recognized by the legal profession as a very suitable one. This position he held until his death, in 1897. He was generally known as Col. Shanly—he having been the commander of the local field battery of artillery for many years.

David Margrave Thompson was a well-educated young Irishman, of fine physical appearance, who, with his brother James, came to Canada to seek his fortune. Here he turned to the study of law, was called to the bar in 1848, and opened an office in London. As a small boy I have very pleasant recollections of him. He lived in the southern part of the town, and passed our house every morning on the way to his office. It was my delight, when domestic discipline and weather permitted, to sit on the door step and watch for his coming. Running to meet him he would take my hand, and trotting by his side I felt quite proud to be on terms of intimacy with this handsome gentleman. In 1851 he occupied a seat in the Town Council; but shortly after he retired to a farm in the vicinity of Strathroy. And while he may have done a little desultory practice in the neighborhood he devoted the remainder of his days to agriculture.

James Daniel was called to the bar in 1847; and while securing a good reputation as a lawyer, interested himself in municipal affairs, especially educational, being chairman of the Board of Common School Trustees. His subsequent appointment as Judge of the County Court of L'Original was recognized as very appropriate.

Thomas Scatcherd a son of John Scatcherd, one of London's pioneer merchants, was recognized as a lawyer of sound judgment and marked ability. But he was better known in the field of politics; and for many years represented North Middlesex in Parliament. While not a frequent speaker he could always secure the attention of the House, and was considered one of the ablest men in committee work.

E. Jones Parke, was a son of the Hon. Thomas Parke, Surveyor General in the Baldwin-Lafontaine Ministry. He commenced practice in Woodstock in 1846, but subsequently removed to London. A man of fine physical appearance, tall and dignified, with a long flowing beard. He was an excellent lawyer; and in his office many of the younger generation had their legal training. As Police Magistrate for many years he administered justice, tempered with mercy. He could always recognize when a prisoner had been more "sinned against than sinning"; and the prisoners at his bar could always be sure of getting as much punishment as they deserved and no more.

Charles Hutchinson, born in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, England, in 1826, came to London in 1846, intending to take up farming. A

little experience showed that farming would be neither as pleasant nor as profitable as he expected; so he turned to the law; studied with Mr. Becher; was called to the bar in 1852. In 1858, on the creation of the office of County Crown Attorney, he was appointed to the position for Middlesex, and performed its duties thereafter for many years to the satisfaction of those who had dealings with the Court—except possibly the criminal classes.

Only brief mention may be made of some others: John Stuart was more noted for his duel with a military officer than for his legal attainment. He practised in London for a time; then wandered about, trying several other towns, and finally coming to anchor with a clerkship in the Attorney-General's office. Stuart Jones, a member of a prominent Brockville family, was in London in the very early days. He was entered as a law student in 1827; but there is no record of his ever having been called to the bar. I do not know how long he remained here or what became of him. Pat Norris was a clever young Irishman, with brilliant prospects. He was very popular, and would doubtless have reached a high position, if death had not cut short his career. As a candidate for Mayor, however, he was not successful. There is a long array of prominent lawyers in London's history, some of whom became judges, members of parliament, and attained a Dominion-wide reputation. But those of them not mentioned herein belonged to a later generation, and do not come within the purview of these sketches.

XV—Old Time Doctors

IN THE early settlement of the South-Western part of this Province experienced medical aid was very scarce. At first the only qualified physicians were those connected with the military stations at Niagara and Detroit. While they were always ready to give aid to the civilian population their services were naturally confined to the neighborhood of their Stations. It is rather singular that while U. E. L. immigration brought in lawyers and preachers there were few, if any, physicians. Sabine, in his book, on the "Loyalists of the American Revolution," notes the fact in the following words:

"The physicians who adhered to the Crown were numerous, and the proportion of Whigs (rebels) in the profession of medicine was less probably than in either that of law or the clergy. But, unlike persons of the latter callings most of the physicians remained in the country, and quietly pursued their business. There seems to have been an understanding that though pulpits might be closed and litigation suspended, the sick should not be deprived of their regular and chosen medical attendants. I have been surprised to find, from verbal communication and from various other sources, that while the Tory doctors were as zealous and fearless in the expression of their sentiments as the Tory ministers and Tory barristers, their persons and property were generally respected in the towns and villages where little or no regard was to the bodies and estates of gentlemen of the robe and the surplice."

The only physician in this section, who might claim to be of U. E. L. extraction, was Dr. W. H. Lee, who came from Connecticut in the early part of the 19th century, and settled on a farm in Southwold Township, where he kept a tavern and dispensed whiskey and medicine to his neighbors.

Along with the U. E. Loyalists there came a number of immigrants into South-Western Ontario from the United States. Some of these were educated people, but the majority were of a poor class. A few of them, with more business shrewdness than professional knowledge, took advantage of the situation by undertaking to practice medicine. Naturally their methods were crude, and their remedies sometimes more dangerous than the diseases for which they were given. Generally they were opium and calomel in large doses; the former for pain and the latter for everything else. Many incidents are recorded in contemporary correspondence and newspaper columns. As an illustration, take Bishop Strachan, in a letter: "I lately visited a young woman ill of fever. The doctor came in, felt her pulse with much gravity, and pronounced her near a crisis. 'She must take this dose,' said the gentleman, pouring out as much calomel on a piece of paper as would have killed two ploughmen. 'Pray, what is this?' said I. 'It is a febrifuger.' 'Is it not

calomel?' 'Yes.' 'You mean to divide this into several doses?' 'Not at all.' 'But she is very weak.' 'No matter; I likes to scour well.' 'Do you not weigh carefully so powerful a drug before administering it?' 'Oh, no; I can always guess the right amount.'" As soon as the practitioner had left Dr. Strachan threw the calomel away, and ordered nourishment and fresh air. As an amateur doctor the parson was a decided improvement on the quack.

Reports of this kind recall the perhaps mythical story of one of these gentry who, summoned to see a sick child, after looking the patient over very gravely, turned to the mother and said: "I don't know what is the matter with this boy; but I tell you what I can do; I can give him something that will throw him into fits, and I am death on fits."

Some efforts were made to remedy the evil of ignorant practitioners. As early as 1774 regulations were passed by the Government forbidding any one to practise medicine without passing an examination before persons appointed for that purpose, and obtaining a license. This, however, was not of much use. There were few if any applicants. Men fairly well qualified for all practical purposes, but not up in classics and collateral branches of science, could not pass; thoroughly qualified men were not disposed to embrace the opportunity of practising medicine in a country where they would have to ride many miles through the woods to see a patient, and take out the fee in produce, or more likely in promises to pay at some future time. Meanwhile the quacks operated without paying any attention to Government regulations. About 1815, however, settlement having been further advanced, legislation was passed providing for a regular board of examiners, meeting at stated intervals and much more convenient for applicants. This was more effectual; and the board thus formed, became the recognized medical authority for the province.

In Gourlay's "Statistics," published in 1817, he stated that in the townships in London district there were six medical men. Their names are not given, and we have no means of knowing whether or not they were licensed physicians.

Dr. Archibald Chisholm was the first physician to settle in London, arriving here in 1828. What information I have been able to gather from his family, resident in the United States, gives no idea of his professional standing. The minutes of the old Medical Board do not mention his name as an applicant for a license, but that is not conclusive evidence as we are not sure that the minutes were always correctly kept in those days. If he had no license from the Board it is doubtful if he had any. He was a comparatively young man, born near St. Thomas, and married to Selina, eldest daughter of Dr. W. H. Lee, of Southwold. His career was very brief as he died in London, September 20th, 1830, at the age of thirty-five.

More is known of his cotemporary, Dr. Elam Stinson, who came here shortly after the arrival of Dr. Chisholm. He was born at Tolland, Conn., October 4th, 1792. He was evidently not a U. E.

Loyalist, for he served in the U. S. Army in the war of 1812. He studied at Yale, Hartford and Dartmouth, graduating at the latter in 1819. After marrying he removed to Canada, settling first in



Dr. Elam Stinson

St. Catharines, in 1823. While here he applied to the Medical Board for license, which was granted,—the minute of the Board stating that it was “perfectly satisfied” with his examination. In 1824 he went to Galt, and 1828 came to London. In 1831 he was appointed Coroner. Pictures of him show a man rather tall, with a clean shaven face, a countenance expressive of firmness, a man with no taint of dandyism, and wearing clothing more for use than for ornament. He appears to have been a successful practitioner; but did not remain long in London. His wife and a daughter dying seemed to give him a distaste to the locality; and in 1833 he removed to St. George where he lived until his death, January 1st, 1869.

About this time London had its first experience of an epidemic disease. Colonel Talbot, writing to his friend, J. B. Robinson,

under date July 8th, 1832, says: “The weather last week has been very hot, and I am sorry to say that a few persons have died after a few hours’ sickness, which the quacks pronounce as cholera. Within the last week I have had the addition of two regular-bred physicians, Dr. Donelly, of the Navy, and Dr. Rolls, a very gentlemanly young man, who practised in Old London for some years.”

By “Quacks” he, no doubt, meant Dr. Stinson, who, being a Yankee, would be *non persona grata* to the Colonel. But the Quacks were right; it was Cholera. One of Col. Talbot’s proteges, Dr. Donelly, died during the epidemic; Dr. Rolls seems to have kept clear of the infected village—settling at St. Thomas. London was in no condition to resist an epidemic. There was no provision for drainage. The streets were of the most primitive description, with scarcely a ditch to carry off the surplus water. There was a swamp on Richmond street, just north of Dundas. On the flats at the south and south-west boundaries of the village, mud puddles gave off poisonous effluvia. Carling Creek, as we now call it, was utilized to run Waters’ Mill, at its mouth; but a big mill pond reached from Richmond street west to Talbot, and in the summer droughts was as unhealthy as these ponds usually are. A smaller and more sluggish stream ran between York and Bathurst streets. Of course,

there was no sewerage anywhere. The wells were mostly open and unprotected, the water being drawn by the old oaken bucket, while pig pens, cow sheds, and other unsanitary structures were usually near enough to let their filth creep through the soil and contaminate the water.

To a settlement thus conditioned came the cholera. In June of 1832 an emigrant ship arrived at Quebec; the disease had broken out among the passengers, and a hundred and thirty-three had died. The survivors were removed to a hospital in Quebec where several hundred cases proved fatal. Quarantine regulations could not have been very strict, for some of the emigrants got away, and a few reached London. They brought the cholera with them. Just how many cases there were has not been recorded; but traditionary reports say there were quite a number.

About the time of the settlement of London, or perhaps a little later, several licensed physicians arrived in the vicinity. Among those who came with the Blakes and settled in Adelaide was Dr. Thomas Phillips. Shortly after he removed to London. As I remember him in the fifties, he was a rather tall, gentlemanly-looking man, with a somewhat reserved manner, a pale face, and the little grey side whisker characteristic of an English physician. The broad, low cottage, on Maple street, near Richmond, in which he lived, and where he died, is still standing.

If I mention Dr. Jas. Catermole here it is because he received his license in 1833. He was at that time a young Englishman, fresh from medical college a couple of years before. He came to Canada as the surgeon of an emigrant ship. He went to Guelph for three years, and then returned to England. In 1850 he went to the United States, practising in Fort Madison, Iowa, for several years. In 1855 he settled in London, selecting for a residence what was then considered an out-of-the-way location, on Simcoe street, near William. He was a man of moderate size, smooth face, always dressed in black, bustling, and somewhat imperative in manner—looking very much like the typical doctor portrayed in English novels of that date. He died in 1890.

Andrew Mackenzie was born in Indiana, of Highland Scotch parentage. He was sent to Scotland, where he graduated in medicine at Glasgow in 1832. Coming to Canada he settled in St. Thomas, and was appointed surgeon to a militia battalion. He came to London in 1838, where he passed the remainder of his days. He was a tall, well built man, with strongly marked features, and a face so bronzed in color as to give rise to the suspicion that Indian blood flowed in his veins—a belief, I think, for which there was no foundation.

Hiram David Lee was born in Connecticut, November 20th, 1791. He came of a medical family, being a son of Dr. W. H. Lee, of Southwold. He studied medicine under Dr. Rolph, who had started a small medical school in St. Thomas. After obtaining his license he was appointed Government medical officer for London in 1833. The duties of this officer would seem to have been mainly connected with immigration. Dr. Lee became a prominent citizen

of London and took an active part in municipal affairs. Sometime after London was made a municipality he was chosen to be a member of the Police Board which was really the village council. In 1847 he was elected president of the Council. In that year an influx of immigrants brought with them typhus fever. Dr. Lee's official duties brought him in constant contact with the disease, and he fell a victim himself—a martyr to duty. If "peace hath her victories no less renowned than those of war," so in times of peace the civilian who serves his country is often called upon to make the same sacrifice the soldier makes on the battlefield.

John Salter was a young English chemist, who came out to take charge of the drug department of Smith & Moore's general store. He subsequently opened a drug store of his own, which will doubtless be remembered by many of the older citizens. Though not a regularly licensed physician, he frequently prescribed, and was generally called "doctor." He was a well educated man, and often wrote for the local press. Small in stature, slightly bent, with a sallow complexion, some readers of Shakespeare used to say that in personal appearance he always reminded them of the apothecary in *Romeo and Juliet*.

Alexander Anderson was a young Scotchman, a licentiate of Marechall College, Aberdeen. He settled here in 1833, and purchased Goodhue's house on Ridout Street—on the site of the present Sandringham Apartments. Subsequently he built Walmington House, across the street. It was one of the finest buildings in the village, still standing, but owned by one of the Catholic Religious Orders. Dr. Anderson was a very prominent physician up to the time of his death in 1873.

Captain John Moore, of the 30th Regiment, who had retired from the service, lived near the present gas house. This was in 1834. His son, Charles, was in business as a general merchant—the firm being Smith & Moore. Dr. Anderson married a sister of Charles Moore, and that probably may have had something to do with turning the latter's attention towards medicine. At all events he entered that profession, and was for many years the leading physician in London. He commenced practice in the early forties, and died, I think, in 1889. His son, Charles S. Moore, succeeded to his practice.

About 1837 there was a physician in London by the name of Thomas Moore. All I have been able to learn about him is that he was a tall Irishman.

Henry Hanson was born in Cheltenham, England, in 1823. He came to Canada in 1844. He had been well educated in England, and settling in the vicinity, near what is now Hyde Park, opened a school. He, however, turned his attention to medicine, and studied at Dr. Rolph's school—receiving his license in 1846. He worked for a time in Salter's drug store; then began practising, having his office in the residence where he had been teaching school. Here for many years he lived the life of the typical doctor, his work being almost exclusively among the farming community. It was a hard life, and growing weary with advancing years, he moved into the city in 1881, and

died here in 1885. I became rather intimately acquainted with him, and in frequent conversations learned much of the trials and tribulations of a pioneer country doctor's life.

Henry Going came here in the early forties. He was an Irish licentiate. When as a boy I first knew him, he lived on Talbot Street, between King and York. He practised here for many years; went away for a short time; then returning to London and locating on Dundas Street between Wellington and Waterloo, where he died. Though a well-known physician, I have not been able to secure exact dates in his career. Rather blunt, and off-hand in his manner, he was a very pleasant gentleman, and a good physician. Personally, I did not admire his line of treatment, for when consulted about some weakness, in my younger days, he made me take three big bottles of the old-fashioned brown, rancid cod liver oil, and submit to frequent applications of croton oil over my chest. It was heroic treatment, but I survived both disease and the remedy.

W. A. Brown was assistant surgeon in the 23rd Regiment, stationed here from 1843 to 1845. Leaving the service he was made medical pension officer, and commenced private practise. He lived on Wellington Street, near the old Artillery Barracks, but subsequently settled down at the corner of Kent and Talbot Streets. He was a well-built man, of a decided military appearance, emphasized by the moustache which he sported in defiance of the fashion which at that time required Doctors to be clean shaven. But fashions changed in this as in other respects. The old pioneer doctor was clean shaven. Then between forty and fifty years ago fashion authorized the long, flowing beard, or the moustache and heavy burnside whisker. Now, antisepsis has cleaned off the Doctor's face again; If he ventures on any hirsute attachment, it is only a smudge on the upper lip. While Dr. Brown, like all his confreres, carried on a general practise, he specialized as far as possible in surgery, and was considered a rather daring operator.

Joseph J. Lancaster was born in Norwich, Oxford County, in 1813. He was a Quaker, though his Quakerism did not prevent him from getting mixed up with the rebels in 1837, escaping from the penalties of the law by the "skin of his teeth." He studied medicine with a local doctor, persued his studies further in New York, adopting the Homoeopathic system of practise. I think he was the first Canadian Physician of that school. Returning to Canada, he married a Westminster lady, and settling near Lambeth in 1846, began to practise. He could not at the time obtain a license as the Medical Board refused to give official sanction to any one inclined to what they considered medical heresy. During his residence at Lambeth he made weekly visits to London, having a temporary office in the old Britannia Hotel, on the corner of York and Wellington Streets. The fact that he was not licensed did not trouble him very much, as the principal disability connected therewith was that he could not collect any bills by process of law. Following the death of his wife he went to New York City for further study; returning to Canada, he practised for a few years at Galt, then came to London in

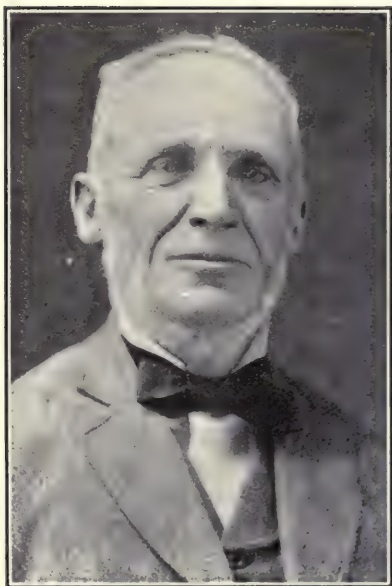
1856, where he remained until his death, residing in what used to be called the Johnston Terrace, on the corner of Dundas and Colborne Streets. In 1859 the Canadian Parliament passed an Act providing for a Board of Homoeopathic Examiners, the members of which being named in the Act were thus licensed to practise. Dr. Lancaster was a well read man, not only in medicine but in general literature. He was a successful practitioner, having among other qualifications an abundant supply of common sense, and a readiness to consider impartially every thing new in medicine. He had some hobbies, as most clever men have. Among others he was an admirer of the Fowler plan of octagon building. He erected a house of this description at Lambeth, and another in London, on Dundas Street, where it still stands, with a plain front added by a subsequent owner which masks the real plan of the building.

During the later forties and the early fifties there were a number of physicians in London, in regard to whom I have been able to gain but little information. A. A. Andrews was the first London Physician with a University training, in arts as well as medicine—having a degree of M.A., and B.C.L., as well as M.D. He resided on York Street, near the corner of Talbot; and was city physician, for some years. John Wanless lived in a little cottage on York Street, east of Richmond, he subsequently graduated in arts in Toronto, and, removing to Montreal, became well known there as the leading Homoeopathic physician. D. Farrar, who I believe had studied with Dr. Anderson, gave promise of becoming a good surgeon, but he turned his attention to mercantile life, and for many years kept a grocery store on Dundas Street, near the market lane. There was also said to be a Dr. Poole, of whom I know nothing, except he was said to have lived in London South, near Victoria Bridge. Smith's Gazetteer, published in 1851, gives the names of the following physicians as resident in London the previous year: A. Anderson, D. Farrar, Henry Going, A. Mackenzie, Chas. Moore, Thos. Philips, and John Wanless. And this may be said to close the era of pioneer physicians.

Those old pioneers, how little we know of the difficulties they encountered, the disadvantages under which they labored. The physician of to-day with his modern equipment for diagnosing disease, his new remedies and specific treatments, his well-equipped hospitals and nursing staff, his automobiles and modern luxuries, his medical journals, and his frequent opportunities for meeting his associates through the country in medical conventions, with these and many other comforts has often a wearisome life. What must it have been for the physician of seventy-five or a hundred years ago? He had no clinical thermometer nor sphygmometer; he may have had the old wooden stethoscope, introduced by Laennec, the beginning of the last century. He knew nothing of antiseptics nor antitoxins. His remedies were few and his instruments simple and crude. He had no automobile with which to visit his patients, travelling over good roads. When a call came he placed what drugs and appliances he had into his saddle-bags and started off on

his trip, perhaps many miles in length, over by-paths, through the woods, wading through bogs and streams in summer, and through deep snow drifts in winter. Sometimes after attending his patients he would be called to some neighbors' house when an accident had occurred and where he would have to treat a fracture or perhaps amputate a limb. Without instruments he would use what appliances the household could provide; a piece of shingle and some old sheets, torn into strips would give a rough dressing to the fracture; a hand saw and a carving knife would effect an amputation, while the housewife's needle and thread would complete the dressing. Coming home, a very weary man, another call might await him, giving him little time for rest or sleep. His fees were small, paid sometimes in produce, sometimes not payable at all. And yet, with all he did the best he could, and was fairly successful. But he was even more than a Doctor. He not only treated physical ailments; he was the family friend. He was not a specialist, passing out of association with the patient and his family as soon as his immediate work was done. He was with them through life and in death; they came to him for sympathy, advice, and sometimes more material help. Few of his class remain to-day. The specialist has taken his place. But the specialist can never be what the old family physician was to those who trusted to him at all times, and got from him what the specialist is not expected to give.

XVI—Some of the Builders



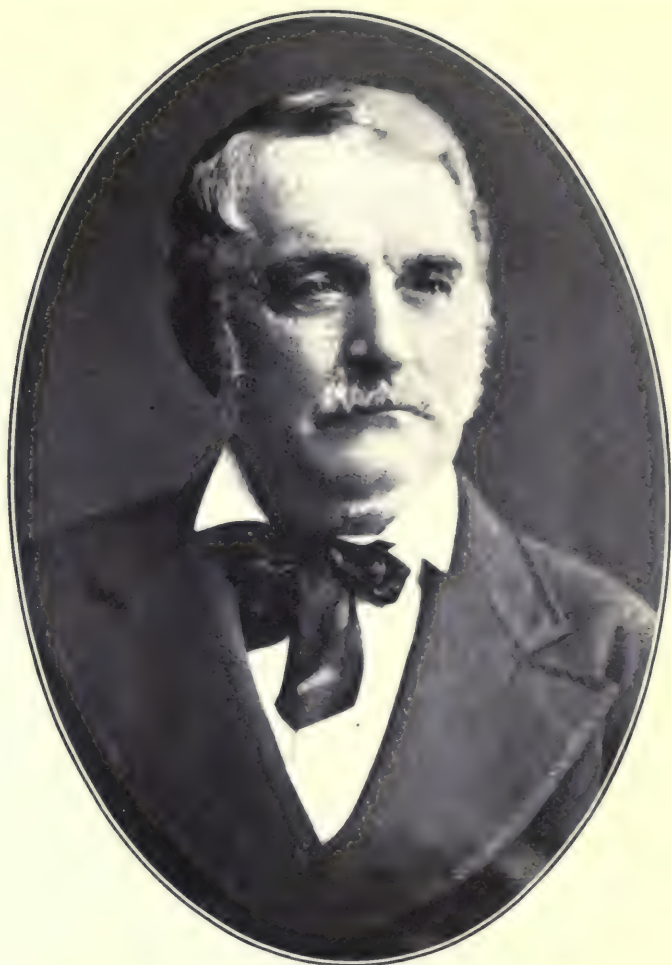
George G. Magee

London is a perfectly new city. It was nothing but a mere forest settlement before 1838, and is now a very large and well laid-out town. We arrived at five p.m., and put up at a very indifferent inn, the best, however, that the great fire of London had spared. The town is laid out at right angles, each street being very wide and very sandy; and where the fire had burnt the wooden squares of houses we saw brick ones rising rapidly. . . . We saw a stone church erecting; and there is an immense barracks, containing the 81st Regiment and a mounted company, or, as it is called in military parlance, a battery of artillery. . . . The adjacent country is very beautiful, particularly along the meandering banks of the Thames. I saw some excellent stores, or general shops; and although the houses, except on the main streets, are scattered, and there is nothing but oceans of sand in the middle, it wants only time to become a very important place."

Some record—however fragmentary—should be made of the men who helped to build up the London of whose future Sir Richard seemed so hopeful. Let me sketch a few not referred to elsewhere.

WHILE the pioneers of London did what little they could to improve its appearance, it remained for many years an untidy settlement. And yet, with all its defects, travellers spoke of it in favorable terms. As an illustration, I quote from Sir Richard Bonnycastle, an officer in the Royal Engineers, who travelled over much of Canada, and wrote several books. Describing London about 1840, he says: "On our first approaching the new capital of the London district, we saw evident signs of recent exertions. Fine turn-pike gates, excellent roads, harbours for picnic parties; and before us at a distance a widespread clearance, and extensive buildings, lifted their heads.

Perhaps one of the most prominent arrivals after the court house was built was John Scatcherd, an Englishman, a tall, burly man, who came to Nissouri in 1820, but removed to London in 1830. He opened a store on the north side of Dundas Street, east

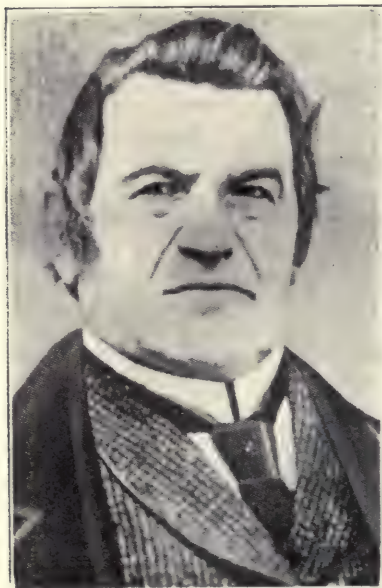


J. C. Meredith

of Ridout, and was the first merchant to sell hardware. After 1835 he returned to Nissouri, became warden of the county and a member of Parliament.

Samuel Glass, an Irishman, came to Westminster in 1819, and settled in London in 1831 as a dealer in flour and grain. Two of his sons became noted citizens: David, member of Parliament for East Middlesex, and William, sheriff.

Lawrence Lawrason was born at Ancaster, August 10, 1803. His father was a United Empire Loyalist from New Jersey. At first clerking in the store of James Hamilton (afterwards sheriff of Middlesex), he subsequently removed with his father's family westward, and opened a store at Hall's Mills, and there a post office was established. In 1832 he came to London and joined Mr. Goodhue in business. He was an active supporter of the Family Compact, an officer of the local militia, a well-known magistrate, and for a couple of years member of Parliament. In 1847 he built for a residence a large brick house, which now forms the nucleus of the Sacred Heart Academy. He became very wealthy, but subsequently lost the greater part of his property. He was appointed the first police magistrate of London in 1865, an office which he held until his death, August 14th, 1882. His wife was a daughter of William H. Lee. One surviving child is Mrs. E. Baynes Reid, of Victoria, B.C.



Thomas Carling

Joseph Webster, who came in 1831, was the first man to open a tailor shop. For many years he carried on a business, which became quite extensive, about where the Parisian Laundry now is on Dundas.

Donald McPherson, a Scotch farmer from Adelaide, settled in London in 1832, building a house on Ridout Street.

Ed. Raymond was born in Buffalo, and settled here in 1832, and began business as a furrier in 1833. Mrs. Raymond, the daughter of Mr. Durant, a Congregational minister, was for many years principal music teacher and organist in town.

George Watson, an Englishman, builder by trade, came in 1833; lived for many years on King Street, about the

present No. 155, and died only a few years ago.

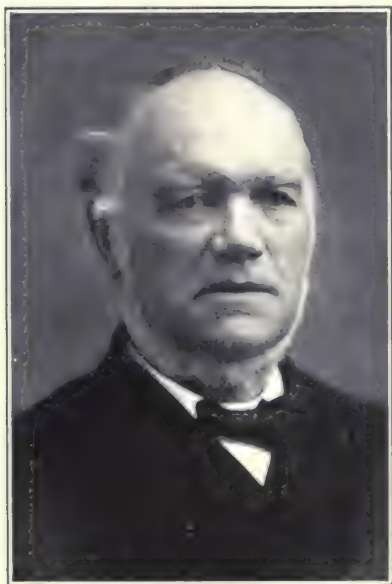
Henry Beltz, a native of the United States, was a bridge builder, and in partnership with one McPherson, had charge of nearly all that kind of work after his arrival. His son, Edmund, learned the trade of furrier with Raymond; began business in 1850, and held it until his death.

J. W. Van Wormer, from the United States, a turner by trade; his wife, a daughter of Jailor Parke, was drowned while driving through the river at the foot of Ridout Street.

Leonard Perrin, also from across the border, originally a blacksmith, but became a baker, having his shop on Dundas Street, near the northwest corner of Talbot; had the contract for supplying troops with bread in later years, and thus paved the way for one of the leading business concerns of our city to-day.

R. Short left London, England, for Canada in 1832; worked at his trade as a shoemaker in Toronto for four years, then came to London. He built a log house on Richmond Street, opposite St. Paul's Cathedral. A few years later, in partnership with a relative, he opened a shoe store in a frame building on the north side of Dundas Street, east of Richmond. Afterwards, he purchased land on the opposite side of the street, built two frame stores, and in one of them carried on business for forty years.

Murray Anderson was born at Lundy's Lane, the ground on which the battle was fought having been the property of his father. Learning the trade of a tinsmith, he came to London in 1835, and lived here for a year or two, then went home; but he returned and took up his trade and became a permanent resident. He opened a tin and stove store on Dundas Street, about where Perrin's factory is, and in later years established a foundry on the southwest corner of Dundas and Adelaide Streets. He took a prominent part in public affairs, and was the first mayor of the City of London in 1855. He died here March 5th, 1898.



Robert Reid

Simeon Morrill came from the United States and obtained three lots on the south-eastern corner of York and Ridout Streets. He operated a large tannery, together with the manufacture of shoes. He was the first employer of labor in London on anything like an extensive scale, and always paid his wages in cash, something very unusual in those days. He was further noted as the pioneer prohibitionist in this city. But though temperance was not popular, he commanded unusual respect from the people, and was repeatedly elected to municipal positions.

John Smythe, from England, was a soldier in the 95th Regiment, and fought under Wellington at Waterloo. He came to London in 1838, and was first a merchant, subsequently opening the Waterloo Hotel on Richmond Street, for many years a local landmark. He was a pioneer in the volunteer movement, and was captain of the first

rifle company organized in this district. His sons have both been well known as good citizens and enthusiastic military men.

Elijah Leonard was born in Syracuse, N.Y.; September 10th, 1814, and learned the iron foundry business with his father. The family removed to Canada in 1830, the father taking charge of a furnace in the Long Point district, at what is now known as Normandale. Here bog iron was found, and worked up extensively. In 1834 Mr. Leonard started a foundry in St. Thomas; and in 1838 removed to London, where he commenced the business now known by the name of "E. Leonard & Sons". The first foundry was on Ridout Street near Fullerton. Mr. Leonard was Mayor of London in 1857, and in 1862 was elected to the Legislative Council of Canada for the Malahide Division. At confederation he was appointed a Senator for the Dominion, serving until his death, May 14th, 1891.

Thomas Carling came from Yorkshire in 1818, where a few years later he married Miss Routledge—one of the first marriages in the township. About 1843 he removed to the village with his family, and started the brewing business subsequently carried on by his sons, William and John.

J. C. W. Meredith, a young Irishman, a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, decided to emigrate and be a farmer in Canada. He settled in Westminster Township, a few miles from London, where he married a neighbor's daughter, Miss Sarah Pegler, and here, in 1840, his oldest son, Wm. R. Meredith, was born. The family moved into the village soon after, where Mr. Meredith occupied himself as a real estate agent, and also as Division Court Clerk, when that office was established. He died in 1881, one of the victims of the Victoria tragedy. The two families of Carling and Meredith are so well known that it is not necessary to make any further reference to them.

John McClary, still living, was born in Nilestown, in 1829. His father was of Scottish descent, but a native of the State of New Hampshire. John McClary removed from Niles-town to London, and in 1851 established the business which has grown to such mammoth proportions.

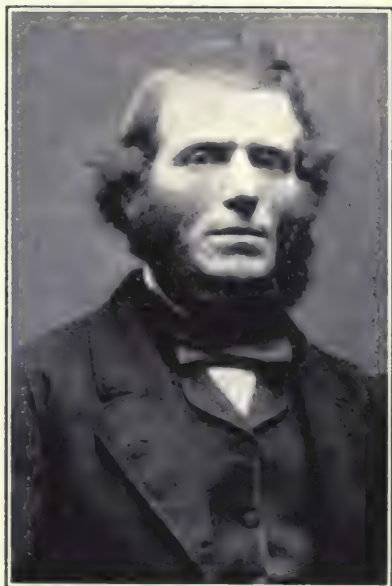
Frank Smith, born in Ireland in 1822; came to Canada with his father in 1832; worked on a farm near Toronto for a few years; then became clerk in the city in a general store. In 1849 removed to London, and went into business as a wholesale and retail grocer. Here he prospered; took an active part in public affairs; and also interested himself in many financial and commercial corporations outside of London. These latter finally rendered it advisable for him to remove to Toronto, where he soon became very prominent in business circles; received the honor of knighthood, and was called to the Senate in 1871. He was a member of several Conservative administrations.

John Birrell, born in the Shetland Isles in 1814; coming to Canada was connected with Adam Hope & Company, Wholesale Merchants, in Hamilton. When that firm opened their warehouse in London, Mr. Birrell took charge and continued until he started

in business for himself in a building on the north side of Carling Street, west of Talbot; died in 1875.

William Saunders: Born in Devonshire, England, 1836; came to Canada and settled in London, 1848; Manufacturing Chemist and Scientist; promoted a number of Societies for the study of Entomology, Horticulture, etc. Appointed by the Dominion Government to the control of Experimental Farms in 1886, with special charge of the Farm at Ottawa. Retired after many years' service, and died at his old home in London in 1915.

George G. Magee, born in the County of Tyrone, Ireland, December 6th, 1813, in early life emigrated to the United States; then came to London in 1844; worked as a clerk for four years; then began business for himself as a grocer in a store on Dundas Street, south side just east of the corner of Richmond. He took an active part in public affairs, more especially on the Board of Education and the City Council; he retired from business in 1862.



Alexander Purdom

Henry Mathewson came from Scotland; settled in London in 1842 and engaged in trade as a baker and confectioner; but in 1867 accepted a position with the Free Press Printing Company, and later became a partner in the business. James Gillean from Scotland came to London in 1842, was a clerk in the store of Thomas Craig, the pioneer book seller in London, but in 1847 opened a store of his own which he conducted successfully for eighteen years, when he became connected with the London Advertiser. Alexander Purdom came from Hawick, Scotland, in 1849; was engaged as a contractor in the construction of several important buildings; the business was carried on extensively by his son, John, until a few years before his death, July 8, 1921. Two other sons, Thos.

H. and Alex., are prominent lawyers and financiers in London. Daniel Macfie, a native of the Island of Bute, Scotland, arrived in Canada in 1841; entered the business of John McKay, of St. Thomas; in 1849 opened a dry goods store in London, and conducted it successfully for nineteen years, after which he held important positions on the directorate of financial and manufacturing companies.

James Moffat, born in Lanark, Scotland; emigrated to the United States in 1841. But came to London in 1845. He was

interested in Municipal affairs; he was a member of the Board of Education and chairman, and of the City Council; and Mayor in 1860. He was prominent in connection with military matters; and was appointed Brigade-Major for this district in 1862; subsequently commissioned Lieut.-Colonel. As a Free Mason he occupied the principal positions in the different branches of that society.

Alexander S. Abbott was born in County Galway, Ireland, June 30th, 1812. He came to London in 1842. In 1845 he was appointed Tax Collector, and in 1856 became City Clerk, retaining that position until his death.

John Elliott, born at Newcastle, England, 1820; came to Canada with his parents in 1827, settling near Toronto. In 1850 he came to London, and engaged in the foundry business with George Jackson. In 1853, he purchased an interest in the Phoenix Foundry, subsequently becoming sole proprietor, and carried on a very extensive business.

Peter McCann was born in Edinburgh, Scotland, though of Irish descent, in 1822; came as a child with his parents to London, and in 1843 took charge of the Western Hotel, which he conducted for many years; took an active part in London's affairs and in 1875 was appointed Fishery Inspector. George M. Gunn came with his father from Sutherlandshire, Scotland, 1832; was in the employ of William Mathieson, of Woodstock; but in 1842 came to London, and entered into partnership with his brother William as a dry goods merchant; on the death of the latter the firm became Gunn and Gordon, and for many years carried on a large business most successfully.

Wm. Wyatt, born in Hull, Quebec, in 1839; came to London with the family in 1841; was a successful stove and tinware merchant; served in the City Council; died in London, July 7th, 1921.

I can only mention by name a few more of the pioneers of that period: Frank and William Pope, Englishmen, builders; S. McBride, tinsmith; Thomas Campbell, builder; John Holden, stonemason; Thomas Hiscox, an English farmer, who was despatch bearer for the Government, conducted a freight and passenger stage, carried mails and kept a hotel; Wm. Bissell, born near Brockville, in 1807, came to London in 1838, ran a factory for doors, window sashes, etc., subsequently a seed merchant, died November 4th, 1878, in London.

J. Dodd came from Northumberland, England, and settled in London in 1843, and began as a builder, the business carried on down to our own time under the name of John C. Dodd and Son. John M. Cousins, came from Truro, N. S., in 1843, and commenced business as a woodworker, and manufacturer of pumps and windmills. Douglas Warren had a large general store, but failed about 1845. Among the dry goods houses were Adair and Thompson, Mat. Colovin, B. Cox and Co., Wm. Gordon, G. M. Gunn, Dan. MacFie, Francis McGill, Geo. G. Magee, Matt. McGill, J. G. and A. G. McIntosh, R. S. Murray, John Phillips, John Raynard. Many

of these firms also dealt in groceries and general goods. Among those who were known especially as grocers, were E. Adams, founder of the present house of Edward Adams and Co., T. H. Buckley, Wm. Glass, Hugh McFie, D. Murphy, Anson Paul, Hugh Rose, Frank Smith, Robert Wilson. Foundry men were Murray Anderson, E. Leonard, Jackson and Elliot. Builders were W. Code, J. Elliot, Green Bros., George Watson. The booksellers were Robert Reid, Beddome and James Gillean. We must not forget the brewers and distillers, such as Carling, Eccles and Labatt, Dimond, Wm. Moore, Samuel Peters. Carriage builders were Marcus Holmes, Plummer and Pacey, A. Lowrie. Drugs and chemicals were supplied by J. Salter and J. Williams. Cabinet-makers were E. P. Ellis, J. B. Merill, Mountjoy, W. Till. H. Dalton made soap and candles. J. Cootes and J. Jennings kept liveryes. Thomas C. Dixon and E. Raymond made hats. Among the tailors were J. Glenn, W. Hall, P. McKittrick and Stewart Bros. Bank managers were John Fraser, Bank of Montreal; Jas. Hamilton, Bank of Upper Canada; Chas. Montserrat, Commercial Bank; W. W. Street, Gore Bank. The last three institutions have passed out of existence.

These were some of the men who helped to build up London. They had their faults; but these were largely the faults of the times in which they lived; their energy and enterprise were their own. Here they lived and labored; here most of them died, and went to rest in the only burial ground then used—the churchyard. No costly mausoleums, no lofty monuments, marked their graves—only a few slabs gave the name, and over some of them no mark was made. In after years, when cemeteries were located outside the city limits, many of the bodies buried in the churchyards were removed to new and, it is to be hoped, permanent resting places. But some, whose graves were unmarked, remained; and thus the dust of some of those who helped to build London is incorporated with the ground over which its citizens live and move to-day.

XVII—*The Postal Service*

WE HAVE become so familiar with the postal system, carrying our correspondence all over the world quickly and cheaply, we may be inclined to think that a service of this kind is part of an old established order of things.

And when we read in the ancient Book of Esther that "the letters were sent by posts into all the king's provinces," the natural inference would be that the post office dates back many centuries. As a matter of fact, however, the ancient post bore very little resemblance to the modern article called by that name. The ruler of an empire, wishing to keep in touch with outlying parts of his dominions, would have special messengers placed or posted in certain positions on the road, usually about a day's journey apart, and there, waiting with horses ready saddled, they carried from one to another the messages sent out from the palace and the reports returned from the officials. In other words, the post was the place provided for the king's couriers to exchange horses or messengers in conveying dispatches to or from the ruler of the country. The common people had no conveniences for correspondence.

In the middle ages the postal service made an advance by the establishment of private posts. The governments of many European countries assisted this service by authorizing certain individuals to establish these posts on certain routes, and practically giving them a monopoly of the transmission of letters. This was the system in England for some time; but the government at last assumed control, purchasing the vested rights of the postmasters, and placing the entire system in charge of a postmaster-general. At best, however, the service was imperfect and very expensive. It was not until 1840 that, after a long and strenuous agitation, the postal reformer, Sir Rowland Hill, simplified the system and brought it within reach of the common people. About the same time stamps were brought into use; envelopes had been made in some countries, but were not in general use.

But the colonies did not get the full benefit of the improvements made. The British Government retained full control of the post offices throughout the whole empire. This was the case in Canada. Officials were sent out from England to take charge of the service with the rank of Deputy Postmaster-General. They had a pretty free hand nominally, but were hampered by precedent and the natural conservatism of an office holder in a country where he was a stranger. Some of them, like Heriot, Findley and Staynor, tried to do their best; some found it more convenient to do as little as possible—not forgetting to draw their pay. At best the service was poor; rates were high, and delivery irregular. This continued until 1850, when the Canadian Government took charge of the service.

The first post office in this vicinity was opened in Delaware, 1798, with Daniel Springer as postmaster. This was for many years the only post office between Sandwich and Niagara. Two Frenchmen, by the name of Sougney, carried the mail at irregular intervals. Later, when the service had grown larger and more offices had been opened, William McGuffin had what might be termed a local contract between Delaware and Burford. In 1825, while the site of London was still vacant, considerable progress had been made in the settlement of the Townships of Westminster and London. At Byron there was already the nucleus of a village. The two sides of the river were connected by a ferry, about three miles west of the Forks, operated by a family named Beverly. Not far from this, on the south side, Thomas Lawrason kept a store, and here a post office was opened with his son Lawrence as postmaster. For some reason the office was called London. I do not know why; unless the authorities had a prophetic vision of a London in the vicinity in the near-by future. When the erection of the court house at the Forks was commenced a year later, the office was removed to Major Schofield's log cabin, about five hundred yards east of the corner of Dundas and Wellington Streets, which would bring it near the present Queen's Avenue entrance to the Sacred Heart Academy grounds—the Major being made postmaster. This proved a very inconvenient location, involving a long tramp from Ridout Street, where the bulk of the population lived. Consequently, it was soon after moved to Mr. Goodhue's store on Ridout Street, and placed in his charge. He remained postmaster for about twenty-five years, with the exception of a short period in the Fifties, during which, on account of some slight irregularities, he was suspended, and Mr. John Harris given temporary charge. The post office, between 1830 and 1850, was a movable institution, being located in different parts of the village: In Mr. Goodhue's store on Ridout above Dundas; in a small brick building on the west side of Ridout opposite Fullarton; in a little plastered building on the northeast corner of Talbot and Fullerton; at the northwest corner of Dundas and Ridout; in the Magee block on Dundas Street, about where Cook's shoe store is now; and on Richmond Street, nearly opposite the present Royal Bank Building.

About 1850, as the town grew in size and the population extended eastward there began an agitation for the permanent location of the office in a more central section. A public meeting, called to discuss the question, unanimously memorialized the government to that effect; and its action was indorsed by a vote of the town council in 1852. But Mr. Goodhue and his neighbors on Ridout Street had sufficient influence to block proceedings for a time. They claimed that Richmond Street was too far east. But the views of the majority finally prevailed. The government decided to purchase from Mr. Carling the lot on the corner of Richmond and North Streets, and commenced to erect the present building, which, however, was not completed and open for use of the public until May 1st, 1860.

Accustomed as we are to the facilities offered by the Post Office for the cheap and rapid transmission of correspondence, we can scarcely realize the difficulties experienced by our forefathers in this connection. Let us for a moment compare 1919 with 1829. If you wish to send a letter to-day from London to Montreal, you can sit down in the afternoon, write your letter, place it in an envelope, affix a three-cent stamp, drop it in the street letter box nearest your house, and your correspondent will get it next morning. If you should find out later that there had been a delay of a day or two, you would probably get very angry, denounce the postal service as disgraceful, and demand an investigation.

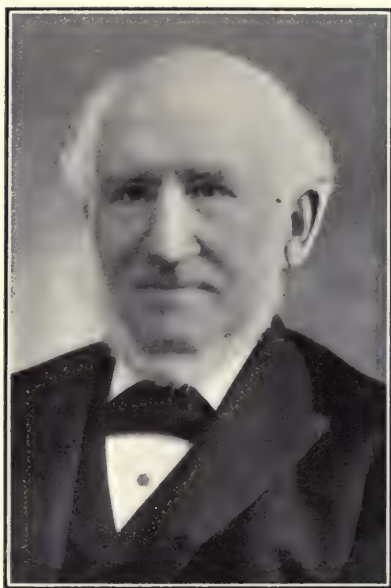
Now imagine yourself back to 1830, or thereabouts, wishing to correspond with someone in Montreal. You would likely think about it for a few days, because letter-writing is a serious business, and not an every day occurrence. When you are ready you get out your paper—old-fashioned foolscap, twenty-four pages to the quire, four pages to the sheet, and by no means the smooth dainty note paper we write on to-day. Then you get the little stone ink bottle and examine its contents. It has not been used for some time and you find it thick and muddy; so you mix a little water with it, being careful not to make it so thin that the writing will be too pale. Now you want a pen. You will not have any steel pen; that is a new invention and very costly; so you get a goose quill, and if you do not know how to trim it properly you will interview the schoolmaster, or some one else who understands the business. He will get out his little pocket knife (see the appropriateness of the word pen-knife); he slices off an oblong sliver from the end of the quill, cuts a little slit down to the point, and you are ready for work. You have no blotting paper, but you get out your sand box to sprinkle over the written lines and dry the ink. If you do not have enough letter-writing to justify you in owning a sand box, a little fine clean ashes will serve the purpose. Now, all preparations completed, you write your letter, leaving the whole or part of the fourth page clear for the address. The letter finished and sanded, and folded in four, place one end of the fold under the other and fasten it with sealing wax or wafer—envelopes being unknown—and write the address on the clear side of the fold. You do not put on any postage stamps; they were not invented until 1840.

Now you take the letter down to Mr. Goodhue's store on Ridout Street, where the clerk weighs it. If it weighs less than one ounce, and consists of only one sheet, you will be charged single rate; a double rate if two sheets and triple rate if three sheets. The rate will depend on the distance; anything under sixty miles will be 4½d.; if over sixty and under a hundred miles, 7d.; if over one hundred and under two hundred miles, 9d., and so on—that is, for the single rate. As Montreal is over 450 miles distant from London, the rate will be 1s. 4d.—say thirty-two cents. Now your letter is in the hands of the post office; but it is a long way from the end of its journey. It waits in London for the courier; and he calls at irregular dates, depending largely on the state of the roads.

He may not call for a week; and when he does get your letter, it will be from ten days to two weeks before it reaches Montreal. And if your correspondent is not a business man, calling at the post office for his mail every day it may be weeks before he gets it. Not very much encouragement for correspondence in those days.

Of course you would have to pay much more if you wanted to send a letter to Europe. Single rates for different countries varied somewhat, but on the average about a dollar; the East Indies being the most expensive—\$1.63. In addition to the foreign rate, there was also the provincial rate from the place of posting to Halifax; that would add about 65 cents to a letter mailed in London. Yet some people talk about the good old times. Would we bring them back if we could?

XVIII—Transportation



William Bowman

THE mode of transportation at the disposal of the early settler in this section was of the most primitive description. Coming from Europe, he landed at Quebec, or possibly New York. In the former case he would get a boat to York (Toronto); in the latter he could sail up the Hudson to Albany, and then by the Erie Canal to Buffalo. From either York or Buffalo he would probably have to depend on his own feet for transportation. Getting settled on his farm, as soon as possible he would invest in a team of oxen or horses. Thereafter he was comparatively independent. As settlement increased, stage coaches began to run between the principal towns. These stages, the best of them that go on the main roads, are

large lumbering vehicles, calculated for the wear and tear of corduroy roads, mud holes, or possibly snowdrifts. If the weather is good, these stages will dash wildly over the highway at the rate of seventy-five miles a day, so that under the best circumstances it will take perhaps a week to reach Montreal, but the circumstances are not always good. The unfortunate passenger, who has got to ride in those chariots is not only bumped up and down day and night, but if the weather is bad he may have to get out and assist the horses in climbing up some hill, or get a rail off the fence to pry the wheel out of some bog; or if it is winter time to assist in shoveling the path through a snowdrift. Perhaps in the dark the whole concern will go over with a crash, and he may have to walk a few miles to the nearest farmhouse and ask for hospitality until the coach is repaired.

Conditions improved after a time. A large sum of money was expended by the Government in improving the roads throughout this section of the Province—thanks largely to the efforts of Mr. H. H. Killalee, the member for London, who happened at that time to be the Cabinet Minister in charge of public works. As a result, stage routes were increased, the conveyances improved, and operated with more comfort to the passengers. The stage ran daily to

Hamilton and Chatham; every other day to Port Stanley and Sarnia; and twice a week to Goderich.

The first railroad corporation in Canada was the Champlain and St. Lawrence Company, started in 1832, only a few years after Stephenson built his first locomotive in England. The purpose for which this road was constructed was to connect Montreal with the nearest navigable water to New York. It commenced operations in 1836, from St. John to La Prairie; it was a wooden road, operated by horse-power. This was a very small beginning; but the little line was the first link in the chain that afterwards became the Grand Trunk Railway.

London was just as enterprising as Montreal; its people also wanted a railroad. A company was formed; and on the 6th of March, 1834, the Legislature of Upper Canada charted the London and Gore Railway Company. The incorporators included most of the leading citizens of London, together with some from sections of the country through which the proposed railroad would pass. They were authorized to construct their road of wood or iron, commencing at London and extending first to Burlington Bay; afterwards it was to go from London westwards to the navigable water of the Thames and to Lake Huron. It may be noted that early railroads were looked upon simply as portages to connect navigable waters. London was made the headquarters of the new company; and the first meeting ordered to be held there on the first Monday in April, 1834. The stock was limited to one hundred thousand pounds—this amount to be doubled when the first section was completed, and when construction commenced from London westward. The Company made slow progress; very little money had been subscribed; and the shareholders at their first meeting elected a temporary board of directors, which seems to have been all they could do at the time. In 1837 the Legislature passed an amended act, changing the name of the Company to Great Western, increasing the stock to five hundred thousand pounds, and making provision for a government loan; and also authorizing an amalgamation with the Niagara and Detroit Rivers Company.

This latter had been promoted by an energetic gentleman named Daly, who had managed to raise considerable money, and had commenced construction. Then the money gave out, and work ceased. Mr. Daly was more honest than some promoters. After his railway scheme fell through, he began the manufacture of an ointment, good for man or beast, and sent a supply of this article to the people who had put money in his company. That was all they got for their investment.

Some years passed, and these railroad enterprises failed to materialize. The idea was not given up. In 1845 the Legislature revived the original acts of incorporation, and the act amalgamating the other two chartered companies. The first meeting was called for the first Monday in February, 1846, when directors were elected, and operations commenced. This was the actual beginning of the Great Western Railway. On the 23rd of October, 1849, there was

a celebration in London which attracted considerable attention—no less than breaking the ground for the new road. The ceremony took place on the vacant lot on the west side of Richmond Street, just north of the creek, where it was intended to locate the station. This idea, however, was not carried out. The original survey was made with a view to economy. At the Eastern end it passed along the high lands south of Hamilton, thus escaping the heavy grade entering the city from below. At London it was intended to take the course subsequently followed by the C. P. R.; and would thus have avoided the expense of the Cove bridge, and also much of the grade known as Sifton's Cut. But the Company was in want of money; and Hamilton and London were important places whose financial aid was required. London was willing to take stock to the extent of twenty-five thousand pounds; but it was on condition that the station should be located on Richmond Street south of Dundas. In Hamilton, also, pressure was brought to bear on the Company. The wishes of the two towns had to be respected, if the Company wanted the money—which it certainly did. As a consequence, the original survey had to be altered; and the line made to follow the course with which we are familiar. The London Council had previously suggested that the land used for market purposes at that time, on the north side of Bathurst Street east of Richmond, would be a suitable site for the station; and this being approved by the directors, the Council, on the 15th of March, 1852, ordered the land to be cleared for the use of the railway by removing the market building to Wellington Street, between King and Dundas, placing it in the middle of the roadway.

All difficulties being thus removed, construction proceeded rapidly; and arrangements were made for the first train to run from Hamilton to London on Thursday, December 15th, 1853. The people of London, however, had a foretaste of what was coming when a locomotive arrived some months before. It came by water to Port Stanley, and from thence was drawn to London by several teams of oxen harnessed together. As some of the bridges on the Port Stanley road were felt to be unsafe, the procession swung off westward on one of the concessions, and reached its destination by way of Mount Brydges. This locomotive, of course, was used for construction purposes only.

December 15th was a dull and dreary day; but the people of London gathered on the streets and waited many hours for the train to arrive from Hamilton. It left early in the afternoon, but the evening shades were falling when it reached our town. It carried some of the leading officials of the Company; and had for engineer John Hall, who was killed in a railway accident at Bothwell in 1862. The fireman was Thomas Brock, who subsequently settled in London, and for many years kept a fish stall. Mr. William Bowman was on the train in an official capacity; and gave a graphic account of the trip in the *London Advertiser* of December 19th, 1903. I cannot do better than give his own words:

"As I remember it, the weather was cold and raw, and the mud

along the line was simply appalling. I was mechanical superintendent of the Great Western Railway at the time. The train consisted of a locomotive and a couple of cars; and, besides myself, General Manager Brydges and Construction Engineer John Clark were aboard. Mr. Clark was the man who built the road, and was also State Engineer of New York. We left Hamilton, where I was living at the time, early in the afternoon, and it was near dusk when we arrived at London. The time was very slow—even for those days—owing to the condition of the roadbed; and it was my opinion at the time that it was a foolhardy notion to attempt the trip under the conditions. The rocking of the coaches was frightful, and I thought at times we would go into the mud in the ditch. We stopped at all the stations along the line, but it was difficult to leave the coaches, as there were no platforms as yet erected, and the mud was too deep to wade into. Woodstock was the largest place between Hamilton and London in those days, and it was small enough to be ridiculous. We made the journey without incident, however, and upon our arrival in London we were met by a large crowd of people, who had awaited our coming. There was a great cheer from those present; and then we were met by Mr. Edward Adams, who was Mayor of London at that time, and a number of councillors and prominent citizens, and escorted to Mr. Adams' residence, where a banquet was tendered the railway officials. I well remember the speeches of the evening, and how pleased the people were to have railway connection with the East. Previous to the entry of the Great Western Railway into London, the only connection the city had with the outside world was by stage coach, and these coaches were principally owned by a Mr. Kiely, who afterwards owned the Toronto Street Railway. The stage made their stopping-place at the corner of Dundas and Ridout Streets, at the old Robinson Hall. The station at the time was a little frame building, which was shortly afterwards replaced by the present structure. The roundhouse, however, stood the same in 1853, when I first saw London, as it stands now."

Needless to say, there was "a hot time in the old town" that night. At the banquet, wine and eloquence alike flowed freely; the citizens congratulated the company, and the officials returned the compliment. Crowds gathered on the streets—with occasional visits to the bar-room—and discussed the wonderful event. It is safe to assume that there were some sore heads the next morning; and if the train did not leave very early the next day, there was doubtless some reason for it. But there was some excuse for this jollification, for the event marked a new era in transportation. It was the first railroad train coming to London, and also the first train in the Province. It was the harbinger of better times, greater facilities for moving freight, and greater comfort for the travelling public. The little locomotive has given place to the huge mogul, and the insignificant train of two cars is now superseded by long trains of palace cars, running smoothly at a rate which would have been marvellous in the eyes of our grandfathers, but which would scarcely attract the attention of their grandchildren.

XIX—*Troublous Times*

THE troublous times of 1837-38 affected London to some extent, though less than other localities. Our historians, so far, are still somewhat too partisan in their views of the actors in what is usually spoken of as "the rebellion"; and the Conservatives and Liberals of to-day, inheriting the traditions of their political ancestors, are still inclined to view the past with eyes that can only distinguish black and white, but not the more neutral shades. As a matter of fact, the Tories and Reformers of rebellion times were neither so entirely black, nor so entirely white, as they have been painted. Many of the prominent pioneers of Upper Canada—U. E. Loyalists, as they are called—brought with them from the United States the ultra loyalty in which the recollection of personal injuries inflicted by the victorious Republicans was a prominent factor. They were, of course, really loyal to Britain; but many of them would have submitted to the altered form of government had they not been persecuted by the people of the United States, who confiscated the property and imperilled the lives of their Tory fellow-citizens. No wonder that when the latter came to Canada they brought with them, not only their British loyalty but an intense dislike for, and distrust of, the people and the institutions they left behind. Any movement in favor of civil or religious freedom, was, in their eyes, a step towards rebellion and annexation. Whoever proposed any change from the established order of things was a prospective if not an actual rebel. As they themselves (or, at least, their leaders) were the prominent men of the Province, and the friends and counsellors of each successive governor, with excellent opportunities for acquiring offices and appropriating lands, they naturally considered the general situation perfectly satisfactory. The faults of which others complained were not so apparent to them; and they might be pardoned if they heard the voice of the detested Yankee in every complaint that was uttered.

But the demand for reform was certainly justified. There was no government of the people in the interest of the people. Municipal institutions were unknown. Nominally the Legislature ruled everything; but in fact the popular chamber was powerless. The Governor or his Council could, and frequently did, ignore the acts of the Assembly. At first the settlers outside of the little towns were too busy on their farms, striving to conquer the forest, utilize the soil, and secure a means of sustenance, to agitate for reforms, or struggle for political freedom. But this could not last. Agitation was sure to come. It came with Gourlay in 1817—as true a loyalist as any Tory of his day. They crushed him, and drove him

out of Canada. Other agitators followed: Mackenzie, Rolph, Duncombe and their associates renewed the fight, and made their voices heard in the press and in the Legislature.

There is not the slightest doubt that the great majority of the reformers were loyal men, who simply desired to cure some of the political evils that were retarding the progress of the country. But their opponents gave them credit for no sort of virtue. Ostracised, vilified, persecuted and prosecuted, it is no wonder that chagrin, anger, despair of better things, seemed to drive them into actual rebellion.

The leader of the rebels in the western part of the Province was a Dr. Charles Duncombe. A native of the United States, he settled in Burford shortly after the war of 1812, and received a license to practice medicine in 1819. He soon became a prominent man in the community. He was appointed a member of the Provincial Medical Board in 1832, and in 1834 was elected to the Legislature. He was one of the first to seek improvements in education, and with Doctors T. D. Morrison and Wm. Bruce, was appointed on a commission to inspect the conditions of schools and colleges. Dr. Hodgins, in his "Educational System of Ontario," says: "The year 1836 is noted in our educational history for the efforts put forth under the direction of the Legislature by a trio of doctors (Duncombe, Morrison and Bruce) to inspect and improve our common school system. They brought in an elaborate report, and appended to it a voluminous bill, in which it was proposed to grant \$60,000 per annum for the support of these schools." Of course the report got no further than the Assembly at that time.

The same year Duncombe went to England with a petition to the Imperial Government in the interests of political reform. On his return, when it was found that no remedy was likely to be provided, being in sympathy with the reformers, when their plans had been matured in Toronto for an armed outbreak, he was urged by Mackenzie to lead the movement in the West. He reluctantly consented—recognizing the difficulties in the way and the doubtful prospects. Communicating with his radical associates in Oxford, Middlesex and Norfolk, he endeavored to organize the forces of dissent. But the majority of them, so far as the London district was concerned, held aloof, and failure was assured from the beginning. Most of the people in the town of London and the township were supporters of the Government, and the few who sympathised with the Reformers were not prepared for actual rebellion. In the southern townships of Westminster, Yarmouth and Southwold, the Reformers were in the majority; but even of these very few favored rebellion. It is doubtful if Duncombe ever had as many as three hundred under his command, and these disbanded and dispersed as the militia approached.

Duncombe escaped. For a month he lay concealed in the house of his sister, Mrs. Shennick, about a mile south of London. As the vigilance of the militia abated, his friend, Chas. Tilden, living near Amherstburg, visited him in his hiding place and proposed that he

should attempt to leave the country in the disguise of a woman—a disguise which his smooth round face and slight build rendered feasible. They started in the depth of winter (January, 1838), stopped overnight at the house of a friend on Hitchcock Street, London (now Maple Street), and pursuing their journey next day, arrived safely at their destination, crossing the river at Marine City, Mich.

The Conservative element of London was intent on suppressing dissent. John O'Neil headed an Orange brigade to drive out to wherever a meeting of Reformers was held and break it up if possible. Lawrence Lawrason and Col. Burwell were also leaders in these raids. But on one occasion, at Nixon's in Westminster, the so-called rebels were prepared for them, and they had to retreat in disorder. Then, of course, they called on the authorities for aid. Sheriff Hamilton was loyal enough; but he seemed to have been lacking in enthusiasm, or doubtful of the wisdom of pursuing men who had committed no act of rebellion; or, as some thought, he was constitutionally timid. At all events, he had to be spurred on; even to the extent of threatening him with the anger of the Government.

Harris, Askin, Lawrason and their associates did the spurring effectively. Between them all they induced the sheriff to call out the militia and pursue the rebels; large numbers were captured and imprisoned—including men who were not rebels at all. They scoured the country and arrested people on suspicion alone. London jail, which then consisted of some damp cells, under the courthouse, was crowded. At one time not less than forty political prisoners were huddled together in this mediaeval dungeon. The wholesale and indiscriminate arrest may be judged by the following fact: In Lindsay's "Life of Mackenzie," there is given a list of the names of those taken into custody as rebels in the London district prior to the final invasion from Michigan in 1838. Out of one hundred and sixty-four so arrested, ninety-seven were discharged by the magistrate without trial; of the remainder who went to trial, twenty-eight were either proven innocent or were discharged by the judge; seven only were convicted and banished. Seven guilty men out of one hundred and sixty-four arrests showed that the greater number were taken on suspicion alone. Only one—Alvira Ladd, Dennis O'Brien's brother-in-law, was condemned to death; but he was subsequently pardoned.

But, while these prisoners escaped with their lives, the fate of some were painful enough. Of the number who were gathered up from the southern townships, many, as I have already said, were simply arrested on suspicion. The bulk of the population consisted of loyal Scotchmen (with the exception of a few who had come in from the United States) who wanted neither independence nor annexation—only reform. But that did not free them from pains and penalties. Let me give a specimen case:

John Grieve was born in Roxboroughshire, Scotland, in 1808. When eight years old he came out with his father, who settled on

the third concession of Westminster. Here John married and established his home; an honorable and religious man, and a good citizen, but like many others, an advocate of political reform. He never joined the insurgents, nor took up arms, but at a logging bee one day he spoke strongly against the evil courses of the ruling powers. That was enough to bring him under suspicion. His language was reported, and Capt. Robson, of London Township, drove out with a constable and arrested him. He was turned into prison with the rest of the suspects. Here for six months he lay, awaiting trial. I have seen a letter he wrote his wife, under date of January 4th, 1838, an old time-worn sheet, yellow with age; but the ink as black and the writing as distinct as though written yesterday. And so he said to his wife, dating his letter from London jail, January 4th, 1838:

"My Dear Wife:

"I am informed by the magistrate that I, with other prisoners, will be taken to Toronto immediately; the handcuffs are now a-making for us, and we expect to start to-morrow. I do not know for what purpose they are taking us; but I was told by Mr. Lawrason that we would probably be tried before we were brought back. I have no idea when that time will be; but do not be disheartened, my dear Jane, but trust to a kind Providence who ordereth all things well, that we will again enjoy domestic happiness together. My heart is with you though I be far away. Little Ann, poor thing, will forget me; but you will mention me sometimes to her. Above all, as soon as she is capable of understanding anything, speak to her of her Heavenly Father. Remember while I am gone, there is a double duty devolves on you."

(Private affairs follow. Nothing about politics, of course, save indirectly in his closing words):

"I wish that all my friends at this critical juncture may take good heed to their way, and walk strictly according to that which they consider their duty."

And so he signs himself:

"Your affectionate husband,

"JOHN GRIEVE."

At his trial nothing could be proved, and he was discharged. But his health had broken down under confinement. Gray-haired and feeble, an old man while still in his youth, he went to his home and died in less than two months.

In 1838 the rebellion appeared to have been totally quelled. A couple of the leaders had been executed in Toronto; but MacKenzie, Duncombe and their associates, had escaped to the United States. The colonists had shown their loyalty in no uncertain manner, and common sense should have taught the most recalcitrant that armed resistance to the British Crown was both futile and foolish. But some of the exiled Canadians, with their sympathisers in the States, kept up a continual agitation. A society for the

deliverance of Canada was formed. Subordinate branches, termed "Hunter's Lodges," were organized. Probably from 15,000 to 20,000 people were connected with the scheme. Plenty of money was provided by friends of the movement, and preparations for the invasion of Canada were made, with the connivance of the authorities of the United States.

The threat of invasion was promptly met by the Canadians, and militia regiments (partly volunteers and partly drafted) were organized. London was not backward in this instance. A battalion of four companies (two from London, and one each from Bayham and Yarmouth) formed the "Home Guard". Fortunately they were not required to leave home. The men enlisted for eighteen months; but were discharged before the time expired.

The invasions of the Americans was confined to two raids—one at Prescott and the other at Windsor—both of which were disastrous failures. The raiders were promptly dispersed, many of them captured, and their leaders summarily executed. At Windsor the raid was marked by heartless brutality and serious damage to the property of the unresisting Canadians. But justice was swift and stern. Four of the prisoners at Windsor were shot by orders of Col. Prince, and the remainder sent to London for trial.

These men were not brought before the ordinary courts, but were tried by a court martial appointed by the Government for that purpose, and consisting of Col. Bostwick, President; Col. Perley and Geo. W. Whitehead, of Burford; Major Barwick, of Blandford; Col. James Ingersoll and Major Beale, of Woodstock, judge advocate. The court sat in London from December 23rd, 1838, to January 19th, 1839. There were forty-four prisoners placed on trial, and all found guilty except one. Only a comparatively small number, however, were executed; the majority were either pardoned or banished.

As to the persons who met their fate at the hands of the law in London, historians are not in harmony. Kingsford, Dent and most writers say there were seven, though their names are not all given. Judge Ermatinger, in his "Talbot Regime," gives five by name. Some of the older citizens with whom I have spoken are positive there were nine. The most reliable information I have been able to obtain is from the records of the court martial in the Canadian archives. From these we learn that six were executed in London. They were the following:

Hiram Bing Lynn, aged 26, from the United States; on January 7th, 1839.

Daniel Davis Bedford, aged 27, from Kippen, Canada; on January 11th.

Albert Clark, aged 21, from the United States; January 14th. Cornelius Cunningham, aged 32, from the United States; February 4th. Joshua Gilliam Doane, from Upper Canada, and Amos Perley, from New Brunswick, on February 6th.

The following were transported: Samuel Snow, Elizur Stevens, J. Burwell, T. Tyrrel, John Seymore Guttridge, James Milne Aitch-

ison, John Sprague, Robert Marsh, Oliver Crandall, Riley Monson Stewart, Henry V. Barnum, Alvin B. Sweet, James Peter Williams, Wm. Nottage, John Henry Simmons, Elijah C. Woodman, Chauncey Sheldon, James Dewitt Jerro, Michael Morin. The following were subsequently discharged: Robt. Whitney, Orin J. S. Mabee, Joseph Grason, Stephen Meadow, Harrison P. Goodrich, John Charter Williams, Daniel Kennedy, Joseph Horton, Ezra Horton, Cornelius Higgins, Charles Reed, David Hay, Wm. Jones, Israel Gibbs Atwood, David McDougall, Geo. Putman, Wm. Bartlett and Sydney Barber.

Trueman Woodbury was ordered to be discharged, but before the order came he escaped—apparently the only one of the number who was able to elude the vigilance of his jailer.

The solitary acquittal was Abraham Tiffany. The ages of twenty-nine of the forty-four persons are given. Of these ten were twenty years and under—one being only fifteen years old; ten were between twenty and thirty years of age; six between thirty and forty; and only three over forty. Nothing shows more clearly the fact that many of the active rebels were only boys, who had no conception of the serious nature of their conduct.

It may be of interest to read the terms of the death warrant ordering the execution of the condemned men:

“Government House, January 29th, 1837.

“James Hamilton, Esq., Sheriff, London District, London:

“Sir,—I have the honor to transmit to you, by command of the Lieutenant-Governor, three warrents for the execution, respectively, at London, of Cornelius Cunningham (on Monday, February 4th), Joshua Gilliam Doane and Amos Perley (on Wednesday, the 6th), pursuant to the sentence of the court-martial therein stated. His Excellency directs that the warrent be publicly read before the prisoners at the time and place of their execution. You will, moreover, have the goodness to acknowledge their receipt by the first post, in order to obviate the necessity of transmitting to you the exemplification usually forwarded in cases like the present. I have the honor to be, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

“M. MACAULAY.”

Misguided and mistaken these men may have been, but some of them, at least, met their end as brave men should.

Archie Bremner, in his “Illustrated London,” narrates the following interesting incident:

John Davidson, a farmer in Stanley Township, driving into town in January, 1839, overtook a lady walking into London, and gave her a ride in his sleigh. At the hotel where he stopped the hostler found a letter in the sleigh, which, it was supposed, was dropped by this lady. It was written by Joshua Doane to his wife. Now that all parties have left this earthly scene and the letter has no personal interest, it may be given as an incidental record of the past:

"London, January 27th, 1839.

"Dear Wife,—I am at this moment confined in the cell from which I am to go to the scaffold. I received my sentence to-day, and am to be executed on February 6th. I am permitted to see you to-morrow, any time after ten o'clock in the morning, as may suit you best. I wish you would think of such questions as you wish to ask me, as I do not know how long you will be permitted to stay. Think as little of my unhappy fate as you can; as from the love you bear me, I know too well how it must affect you. I wish you to inform my father and brother of my sentence as soon as possible. I must say good-bye for the night, and may God protect you and my dear child, and give you fortitude to meet that coming event with the Christian grace and fortitude which is the gift of Him, our Lord, Who created us. That this may be the case is the prayer of your affectionate husband,

"JOSHUA G. DOANE."

So, whether on the scaffold, or in the cell, or on the sick-bed, or in exile, the rebels and their sympathizers passed away; and the black hand of the executioner dropped the curtain on the last act of the tragic drama of 1837.

XX—*Military Matters*



Colonel James Shanley

IN THE early days of the Province of Upper Canada legislation in regard to military matters was decidedly vague and inefficient. The disturbances of 1837 made it necessary to provide more effective measures for the preservation of law and order. In its session of that year and the following the legislature codified and amended all Militia Acts to suit the emergency. The Lieutenant-Governor appears to have had control of the Militia in his Province. In every district he appointed a commanding officer. Every British subject between the ages of eighteen and sixty was considered to be in the Militia: As such he was required, under penalty of fine and imprisonment, to report to his commanding officer for registration and drill. The latter was not very

arduous. The men were neither uniformed nor armed. Some of them brought old muskets; the best most of them could do was to utilize broomsticks or pitchforks. They were instructed in the goose step; did a little marching; then adjourned for refreshments. After which they all went home, satisfied they had done their duty as defenders of their country.

When the Governor deemed it necessary in any district he would call out a battalion for active service for a limited period. Such was the battalion under Major John B. Askin, organized December 30th, 1837. (The Major was promoted to a Colonelcy, February 3rd, 1838.) The following were his subordinate officers: Captains Thomas Cronyn, John Stewart, John Douglass and David Calder; Lieutenants Ross Robertson, Hamilton O'Reilly, John H. S. Askin, William Shore; Ensigns Frederick Claverly, John S. Monserrat, Peter Schram (resigned), Hugh Black, Charles Dawson; Surgeon, George Moore.

Another battalion of four companies (two from London and one each from Bayham and Yarmouth) was formed as a sort of

"Home Guard"; though fortunately they were not required to defend their home. Captain Thomas H. Ball, a British officer, was given command. The other officers from London were the following: Captains John Wilson and William McMillan; Lieutenants H. C. R. Becher and John Jennings; Ensigns Sterne Ball and Thomas Ball; Paymaster, William Robertson; Adjutant, Ross Robertson; Surgeon, Dr. A. Mackenzie; Quarter-master, Freeman Talbot. Ross Robertson seems to have held office in both battalions. He may have resigned from one before taking office in the other; but the records of the Militia Department say nothing about it.

Under the amended Militia Act of 1837 and '38, the Lieutenant-Governor was authorized to accept the services of volunteer companies. The first one to be formed was the London Independent Artillery Company under general order of October 23rd, 1841. The officers were: Captain, Duncan McKenzie; First Lieutenant, Thomas Kier; Second Lieutenant, John Norval. Captain McKenzie, though a resident of Hyde Park, was intimately associated with London affairs. The records are not clear as to the further history of this Company. But, as it appears that Captain McKenzie was retired with the rank of Major in May, 1856, just about the time that Major Shanly assumed command of an Artillery Company, it may be inferred that this latter unit was a continuation of the old battery.

Under the same date a general order recognized the London Independent Rifle Company. The officers were: Captain, John Smith; First Lieutenant, George Thomas; Second Lieutenant, Lancaster Schofield. The two latter resigned some years after; and we find that on the nineteenth of December, 1845, John Dease was commissioned First Lieutenant. Captain Smith had been a British soldier in the 95th Regiment, and served under Wellington at Waterloo. He came to London in 1838, and was at first a merchant, but afterwards opened the Waterloo Hotel on the west side of Richmond Street, south of King. This was a well-known hostelry for many years. There is no record in the Militia Department of the subsequent history of this Company.

After the organization of the two companies mentioned, local military enthusiasm seems to have been in abeyance. No new companies were organized. But when the regular troops were withdrawn in 1853, on account of the Russian War, there seemed to be a sudden desire on the part of many citizens to don the uniform. It was about this time that a number of units were formed. Among them were the following: A troop of cavalry, with James Burgess as Captain, William Dempster and Frederick Peters as Lieutenants, Alfred Luard as Cornet, and Charles Moore as Surgeon; First Rifle Company—Major Henry Bruce, Captain William Barker, Lieutenants Francis Smith and W. C. L. Gill, Ensign Samuel Barker, Adjutant Robert Bruce; Second Rifle Company—Captain A. C. Hammond (succeeded by Captain John Macbeth), Lieutenant S. Morley (succeeded by W. H. Barber), Ensign D. M. Askin (succeeded by A. S. Emery); The Highland Rifle Company—Captain

James Moffatt, Lieutenant Robert Lewis, Ensign John Urquhart, Surgeon Dugald McKellar; Field Battery of Artillery—Captain James Shanly, First Lieutenant John Peters, Second Lieutenant George B. Harris, Surgeon V. A. Brown.

On the organization of the 7th Battalion, the rifle companies mentioned above were incorporated with it. This took place at a later date (General Order, April 27th, 1866).

Additional Companies were formed after the Battalion was gazetted, and some changes made in the officers first commissioned; but when the organization was complete, the roster was as follows:

Lieutenant-Colonel, John B. Taylor, D. A. G.; Majors, Arch. McPherson and Robert Lewis; Paymaster, Duncan Macmillan; Adjutant, Thomas Green; Quartermaster, John B. Smythe; Asst. Surgeon, S. Payne, M.D.

No. 1 Company—Captain, Duncan C. Macdonald; Lieutenant, Henry Gorman; Ensign, W. Hill Nash.

No. 2 Company—Captain, Edward W. Griffith; Lieutenant, Edward McKenzie; Ensign, A. W. Porte.

No. 3 Company—Captain, Thomas Millar; Lieutenant, Henry Bruce; Ensign, Wm. McAdams.

No. 4 Company—Captain, W. R. Meredith; Lieutenant, Richard M. Meredith; Ensign, Chris. S. Corrigan.

No. 5 Company—Captain, M. D. Dawson; Lieutenant, David A. Hannah; Ensign, Jas. Magee.

No. 6 Company—Captain, Wm. H. Code; Lieutenant Jas. A. Craig; Ensign, Frank McIntosh.

No. 7 Company—Captain John Macbeth; Lieutenant, Emanuel Teale; Ensign, Henry Hart Coyne.

No. 8 Company—Captain, John Jackson; Lieutenant, Sextus Kent; Ensign, Thos. Kent.

This Battalion, known for half a century as the 7th Fusileers, had a most creditable history. It went to Windsor during the Fenian troubles, and was on active service in the North West Rebellion; and at the outbreak of the war with Germany, nearly the whole Battalion followed their Commander, Lieut.-Col. Campbell Becher, overseas. At the close of the War, for reasons doubtless satisfactory to the authorities, the name was changed to First Western Ontario Battalion. As the personnel of the regiment, both officers and men, has changed, it may be said that the 7th has passed out of existence. Its deeds of valor are recorded in history; and its colors and trophies may some day be found on the dusty shelves of a museum.

On the removal of the regular troops in 1853, a company of pensioners was formed, numbering 270 men—36 of whom were kept on permanent duty in the barracks, under the following officers: Captain F. Hodgetts, late H.M. 24th Foot; Dr. Brown, late 23rd Fusileers, in medical charge; Evan Evans, Sergeant-Major, late 23rd; F. Hillan, Staff-Sergeant, late 85th; Sergeant Dalton, late 31st.

One result of the Rebellion of 1837 was that London became a garrison town. Previously, the British troops were all stationed in

Lower Canada; and if they were required further westward they had to be marched for quite a distance. It was now thought advisable to have a force permanently stationed in this district. London was selected as a suitable location. The Government spent a large sum of money in constructing barracks on the military reserve here. A long three story terrace was built at the north end of the reserve, the south being the parade ground. The artillery barracks was east of the parade ground, facing the west. The following regiments were quartered here during the early days: The 32nd and 83rd, from 1838 to 1841; the 1st Royal (Col. Wetherall) and the 14th, 1841 to 1843; 23rd Royal Welsh Fusiliers, 1843 to 1845; 82nd, 1845 to 1846; 81st, 1846 to 1847; 20th (Col. Horne), 1847 to 1849; and the 23rd, a second time in 1849, remaining till the troops were withdrawn in 1853. There was, also, always a battery of artillery forming part of the garrison. The Royal Canadian Rifles came



The Old Barracks

later. When it disbanded Adjutant Millar took up his residence and became a noted citizen. One son, Thomas, was an officer in the 7th Battalion. Another son, Robert D., was born on the British Diadem, coming from Gibraltar to Canada, and is a resident of London. A grandson took part in the late war.

So much has been said and written about the action of the Canadian Government in enlisting men for overseas service in the war with Germany, that many people are disposed to consider it as something unprecedented. It should not be forgotten, however, that after the outbreak of the Indian Mutiny Canada offered a regiment to the British Government for service at the front. The offer was accepted, and on the third of March, 1858, the Governor-General was authorized to raise a regiment to be added to the regular foot regiments of the British Army; it was to rank as the 100th Regiment, and its distinctive title was to be "The Prince of Wales Royal Canadian Regiment of Foot". It was allowed to

bear as badges the Prince of Wales plume and coronet, surrounded by the garter, together with the maple leaf and beaver. Major Gorman, of Sarnia, one of the first to join, says that twelve companies of one hundred men each were enlisted for ten years' service. Commissions were allotted in Canada for one major, six captains, six lieutenants and four ensigns, under the following conditions: The Major to recruit at his own expense 200 men; each captain 80 men, and each lieutenant 40 men, the balance of the 1,200 to be recruited at the public expense. The pay and conditions of service were the same as then prevailed in the British Army, and were much inferior to what is allowed the British soldiers of the present day. Capt. Bruce, of London, a retired regular army officer, was at first authorized to enlist the quota necessary to qualify as major of the regiment. He transferred his rights to the majority to Alex. R. Dunn, of Toronto, a young Canadian who distinguished himself in the famous charge of the Light Brigade at Balaclava, being at that time a lieutenant in the 11th Hussars, and only nineteen years of age.

Major Bruce accepted a captaincy; but on account of ill-health, had to resign. Major Gorman estimates that at least 200 enlisted from the Counties in this section. Of those who went from London he can only remember the following names: Wm. Hudson, Wm. Smith, Richard Nugent, John McDowell, Edward Hill, Robert Allen, James Ward, Jabez Richardson, Henry Gorman, Eli Clark, H. Lawford, Foster, Robert Shaw, John Dobney, Pat Brennan, Thos. Bayles, Chas. Lee, Edward Emery, Thos. James, Wm. Elliott, Chas. McGrady, — Horner, and — McGarvey.

The regiment was mobilized at Montreal, and on the 18th of June, 1858, the first contingent sailed for England. The command was given to Colonel the Baron DeRottenburg, a British officer at that time in command of the Canadian Militia. At Shorncliffe, and at Aldershot, the regiment received its training. But it did not go to India, for the Mutiny had been quelled. It had to content itself with doing garrison duty at Gibraltar and Malta. On the outbreak of the Fenian troubles in Canada, at the request of the Government, it returned to this country, but too late to be of any service, as the Fenian bubble had exploded. The ten years' service having expired, further enlistment was stopped. The regiment returned to England, was sent to India for a time; and then on the re-organization of the British Army it was changed into an Irish Regiment, and became the first battalion of the Leinster Regiment, although still retaining the Canadian badges and honors of the 100th on its colors.

In this sketch I have exceeded the chronological limit of this work. But in treating the subject it seemed advisable to bring it down to a later period, and give as far as possible a continuous record of London's military activities.

XXI—*Village Government*

WHILE the first survey of London was made in 1826, and its settlement begun in that year, it did not have distinct municipal government until 1840. Between these two dates it was simply a part of the Township of London, and under the control of the Township Council. Its increase in population, however, especially after the military were stationed here, necessitated some measure of self-government; and by an Act of the Legislature, passed February 10, 1840, it was constituted a village under the management of a Board of Police Commissioners.

The original survey was bounded by North Street (Queen's Avenue), Wellington Street and the River. Adjacent property holders, however, had laid out additional surveys, north and east, and it was decided to make all these part of the new corporation. The boundaries were extended east to Adelaide Street, and north to Huron Street. The western boundary was, of course, the river; while at the south, the river on the west and Trafalgar Street on the east, fixed the village limits. This was a pretty large tract of land for a population of about 2,000; and for many years London, like the City of Washington half a century ago, was a place of magnificent distances. Much of the new territory was but partially opened up for settlement. Some of the streets were only visible on the surveyor's map. Besides which, there were three special reservations. First, there was the military reserve, extending from what is now Clarence Street east to Waterloo; and from North Street to a line about 100 feet north of Piccadilly—now called Kenneth Avenue.

This section was entirely excluded from the jurisdiction of the village. Within it the commanding officer of the garrison was the sole autocrat—the Police Board could not interfere with him. In fact his judicial functions were recognized by the civil powers, for when any court was sitting he could take his place by the side of the judge. I presume, however, this was more a matter of courtesy than of right. In after years some trouble arose between the civil and military authorities over the extent of this reserve. The latter took possession of all land to the west side of what is now called Park Avenue; the municipality claimed that they should only go to the east side, leaving out the street allowance. At times the dispute became almost riotous. However, it was eventually settled in favor of the town, and Church Street, subsequently Clarence, was duly opened.

Then there was the Clergy Reserve, or Glebe land, extending from Dundas Street, south to the village boundary, and from a line

now marked by Burwell Street to beyond Adelaide. This was a government grant to St. Paul's, and subsequently surveyed and sold.

Near the centre of the corporation was a private reserve—the property of Major Schofield—occupying the ground from Dundas Street north to about 100 feet beyond Bond Street (Princess Avenue), and from a line midway between Colborne and Maitland to a line midway between Maitland and William. It was subsequently purchased by Mr. L. Lawrason, who added the western part up to Colborne Street, had the whole section surveyed, retaining for himself the block bounded by Dundas, Queen's Avenue, Colborne and Maitland, on which he built a very large private residence—a building that afterwards formed the nucleus of the Academy of the Sacred Heart.

The streets of the village corporation did not all bear the names by which they are now known. Richmond Street only extended from the River to Fullerton Street; from thence to Litchfield it was Mark Lane; up to Oxford it was Sarnia Street; and then to the northern boundary it was called Burlington Street. What is now Park Avenue was Church Street. Talbot Street ended at Oxford; its continuation from this point north to Huron, bore the name of Great Talbot. The streets running east and west have seen more changes. Carling Street was North Street West. Queen's Avenue, from Richmond to Talbot, was William Street. There was then another William Street, as at present, but as nobody lived on it there was no inconvenience from the duplication of names. Maple Street was Hitchcock; Central Avenue west of Richmond was Litchfield. Picadilly west of Richmond was Mount Pleasant. Sydenham was only opened out to St. George (or plain George as it was then called). College Avenue was Thomas Street. That part of Louisa Street, running between Richmond and Wellington, was Leonard Street. East of Richmond and south of Dundas there have been no changes. North of Dundas we find that Queen's Avenue was North Street; Dufferin Avenue was Duke Street, Princess Avenue was Bond Street, and Central Avenue was called Great Market. Albert Street at that time bore the name of Market without the Great. Of course, as I have already intimated, many of the streets in the eastern and northern parts of the city were not opened up at the time the village incorporation was effected.

Under the terms of incorporation, the village was divided into four wards. St. George's Ward embraced all the territory north of the centre of Dundas Street—more than half of the village area. St. Patrick's Ward extended from the south side of Dundas to the North of King; St. Andrew's from the south side of King to the north side of Bathurst; and St. David's from the south side of Bathurst to the southern boundary of the village. As these wards were doubtless framed so as to produce an approximate equality of population, we may assume that one-quarter of the people of London at that time were resident between Dundas and King Streets. Each of these wards elected a representative to the Board

of Police; and they four chose another one; so that the entire board consisted of five members. The President of the Board was, of course, elected from its membership; clerk, treasurer and other officials were hired employees, and were appointed by the Board from among the citizens.

The powers of a Board of Police in those days were not, of course, equal to those of a modern municipal council; it was some years later before a municipal act was passed. At the same time it had pretty general powers of management. It could pass by-laws to regulate nuisances; to make improvements and to collect rates; to establish a scale of fees, and to issue licences for taverns, entertainments and the sale of hay, bread and other commodities; and in general to preserve law and order. In taxing the people it could not collect more than four pence on a pound of the assessment of



Dundas Street about 1840

the property; and a town lot could not be valued at more than five pounds. In addition to its legislative and executive powers, however, it also exercised judicial functions. It constituted a police court; before which offenders against local regulations could be brought and tried.

Under authority of the Act of Incorporation, the Sheriff held the first election for the Village of London on the first Monday in March, 1840, with the following result: St. George's Ward, J. G. Goodhue; St. Patrick's, Dennis O'Brien; St. Andrew's, Simeon Morrill; St. David's, John Balkwill. These four members completed their number by choosing for fifth member, James Givens. The Board then duly organized by electing Mr. Goodhue President, and by appointing John Harris, Treasurer, and Alex. Robertson, Clerk.

It may be as well to give here the names of the men chosen to govern London during the eight years it was a village, placing them in the order of their time of service. St. George's Ward—Geo. J. Goodhue, John Jennings (two years), John Claris (two years), T. W. Sheppard, Wm. Barker; St. Patrick's Ward—Dennis O'Brien (two years), John O'Neil, J. Cruickshank (two years), Wm. Balkwill, H. S. Robinson; St. Andrew's Ward—Simeon Morrill (three years), H. Vanbuskirk, Richard Frank, John Talbot, John Balkwill, Philo Bennett; St. David's Ward—John Balkwill (five years), John Blair, John O'Flynn, James Graham. The fifth or appointed members were: James Givens (two years), Ed. Matthews, John O'Neil, James Farley, John O'Flynn, George Thomas, Dr. H. D. Lee. The Presidents elected by the Board were: G. J. Goodhue, James Givens, Ed. Matthews (two years), James Farley, John Balkwill, T. W. Sheppard, Dr. H. D. Lee. The following were appointed clerks: Alex. Robertson, D. J. Hughes, W. K. Cornish (two years), Geo. Railton, Thomas Scatcherd (two years), Henry Hamilton.

The Police Board of the village was composed principally of some of the leading citizens. In another sketch I have made some reference to Goodhue, O'Brien, O'Neill, Givens, John Harris, S. Morrill.

John Balkwill was a stout, burley Englishman, who loved his beer and made it in what was, I believe, the first brewery in the village, located on the site of the present Labatt's brewery. Mr. Balkwill disposed of his business subsequently to John Labatt, grandfather of the present Labatt's, who in company with Samuel Eccles, of St. Thomas, established it so firmly that even prohibition has not yet abolished it. Balkwill was evidently a customer of his own products. There is a resolution on the minutes in a subsequent year that as "John Balkwill, Esq., had attended a meeting of the Board in a state of intoxication, the constable be ordered to remove him."

John Jennings had been a pedlar, who came to London a few years previous. He proved an all-round citizen. He ran a distillery across the river from "Eldon House," a livery and a store in the village, besides dabbling in all sorts of things.

Ed. Matthews was an Englishman by birth, who came to London in 1835. His son-in-law, Pomeroy, conducted a lumber mill at Dorchester. They floated the timber down the river to the foot of Richmond Street, from whence it was drawn to the shop on the corner of Dundas and Richmond, on the site of the present Bank of Commerce. Matthews did a large business, one of his principal contracts being for the building of the barracks. He ought to have been a prosperous man; but his end was unfortunate—he committed suicide.

James Farley was an Irishman who came to London in 1830, to enter into partnership with his brother-in-law, John Scatcherd, who came from Nissouri, as general merchant. When Scatcherd left the village Farley continued the business by himself. He subsequently removed to St. Thomas.

Wm. Barker was an Englishman, who came here in 1835, and had charge of the business affairs of Gen. Renwick, who was an extensive property holder for many years. Mr. Barker was a man of superior education, who made a hobby of astronomy. He took an active part in municipal matters.

Only brief mention of a few others. Wm. Balkwill was a brother of John Balkwill. He was only on the Board one year—finding a more profitable business as the proprietor of the Hope Hotel, on the southwest corner of Dundas and Talbot Streets. John Blair was a carpenter, living on Simcoe Street. He was afterwards a town official, engaged in the tax department. Hugh Stevenson was a Scotchman, who kept tavern on Ridout Street. Graham was shoemaker.

The Police Board did the best it could under the very limited powers given it to improve the condition of the village. Some grading of the business streets was done; but even on Dundas Street, east of Clarence, traffic was difficult, owing to the stumps in the roadway. There was no street lighting, beyond what shone from the windows of the stores and the numerous taverns. Some little fire protection was afforded by a system of inspection, by the adoption of fire limits and the construction of a few tanks. Fires were frequent, despite all precautions. One of a serious nature occurred on February 1st, 1844, when the Anglican Church, a frame building, was destroyed. It spread south to Dundas Street, and did considerable damage. This seemed to wake up the people to a sense of the need for better protection, and they procured a small hand engine, and organized a company to operate it. Whether it was of much use may be questioned. The worst fire in our history occurred on April 13, 1845. It was Sunday; the fire broke out at noon in the old Robinson Hall Hotel on the site of the present building, and spread rapidly south and east. In a few hours some thirty acres of land were covered with ashes and smouldering ruins, and one hundred and twenty-five buildings destroyed. But while this fire brought serious loss to many individuals, it was a benefit to the village. The people were not discouraged. While the smoke was still rising the next morning, preparations for building were begun, and more substantial structures of brick were erected. Most of the buildings now standing on Ridout Street, between King and Dundas, as well as those on Dundas Street West, sprang up then; and though more than fifty years have elapsed, they are in good condition still.

Little can be given in detail of the proceedings of the Board of Police during this period. The old records, so far as they were kept at all, were left in poor shape; and much that we know of that period has to be gathered from contemporary literature, from unofficial documents, and from the recollections of the pioneers.

XXII—London Town



Simeon Morrill

THE period during which London was legally a town (1848-54) was one of growth and development; of foundation laying; of preparing for the higher municipal status which its ambitious citizens were beginning to anticipate. Its population more than doubled. Of the five thousand arrivals many were men of marked ability and became important factors in the town's progress. Of a large number who filled their places, and did their work to London's advantage, then passed away leaving behind no record of their personal activities, we can say nothing. But the names of some are still familiar. Let me recall a few. Josiah Blackburn came from England; bought the Free Press in 1853; converted it into a daily, and made it a force in Canadian politics.

W. Y. Brunton came from England, settled in London in 1849; conducted a theatre for several years, then became an auctioneer and commission merchant; served in the City Council. Thomas Coffey came from Ireland with his parents about 1848; printer; proprietor of the Catholic Record; Senator. Benjamin Dawson came from New Brunswick in 1851, with his family; one son became Postmaster; another was a Colonel in the volunteer force, paymaster of the Militia and superintendent of military stores. James H. Flock, born in Toronto; settled in London in 1854; called to the bar in 1856; practised law until his death in 1920. Charles Hunt, an Englishman; built City Flour Mills in 1854; also a coal and wood merchant. Robert Lewis, born in Toronto; came to London in 1853; dealing in paints and wall papers, and subsequently stained glass manufacturer; Mayor in 1878 and 1879. Thomas and William McDonough, Irishmen, merchants. C. T. Priddis came from England; settled in London in 1849; merchant; succeeded by his sons, who retired from business some years ago. Robert

Reid, from Scotland; came to London in 1848; he established the principal book store; subsequently appointed collector of customs. William Skinner, a Devonshireman; shoemaker; alderman for many years. Philip Cook, from Ireland; came to London in 1849; shoemaker; developed a large shoe business, still carried on by the family. Mr. Skinner is probably the oldest resident of London. These are only a few of the men who came to London when it was a town, who became useful citizens, and whose energy and enterprise helped materially to make our city what it is to-day. There were many others like them, but want of space, and lack of information, alike forbid my trying to extend the list.

Many improvements were initiated, and some completed, during the period under consideration. Much progress was made in the grading of streets, cutting down the hills where the streets ran to the river, laying gravel, and digging out water-courses. Gravel made a rough pavement when first laid down; but in wet weather it was an improvement on mud roads, and in time the stones packed down, with fairly good results. Richmond Street, from Dundas to the northern boundary, was granted to the Proof Line Company, with permission to have a toll gate within the town limits, on condition that they kept the road in repair. A brick sewer, 3 feet by $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet, was constructed, extending from Wellington to Richmond on Dundas; from Dundas to King on Richmond; from Richmond to the River on King. The market house on King Street was completed; and the old City Hall on Richmond Street practically finished. The Union School was built, and opened in 1850; and a brick school house provided in the northern part of the town—St. George's School—though not as large as it is now.

Considerable activity was shown in the matter of transportation. Stock was taken in the proposed Great Western Railway—on condition that the station should be located down town, and not in the north as first decided. The London and Port Stanley Road was initiated; and stock taken in that corporation to the extent of £10,000. London also joined heartily with some other municipalities in urging the Grand Trunk Railway to construct a branch from St. Marys.

As most of the buildings in the town were constructed of wood, the Council very wisely encouraged every means that could be employed for fire protection. There were two fire engine companies, and a hook and ladder company, besides a citizens' protective company, armed with buckets, whose duty it was to guard the household goods that were dumped on the street from burning houses, and also to be generally useful. The Council had purchased a large bell, from whose brazen throat came an alarm when fires occurred. It served other useful purposes; with more joyous tones it took part in public celebrations; soberly each day it rang at six and twelve and six; while on Sundays at ten-thirty and six-thirty it called the people to prepare for church.

The fire brigade was a volunteer force; and to encourage the members in the performance of their duty, the Council paid a bonus to the company that was first at the fire. It was probably only a

co-incidence that after this plan was adopted, incendiary fires increased. Evil-minded persons said that in each company there were some energetic members who took care that a fire should occur at a suitable time, and that their own company should be promptly on hand. Doubtless this was a slander.

The firemen in those days constituted an important body, apart from their special duty. They consisted largely of some of the best citizens (though with a sprinkling of some who were not of the best). Men like Elijah Leonard, Marcus Holmes, Frank Smith, John Craig, D. S. Perrin, and many others ran "wid der masheen." To become a fireman it was necessary for the applicant to pay an admission fee, buy his own dress uniform, and be ready to put his hand in his pocket whenever the company needed money. The firemen took a prominent part in social functions, providing balls and entertainments. Their special delight was in getting up tournaments, or contests with other companies, where the one who could throw water the farthest would be adjudged the victor. The men in dress parade wore black pants, short red jackets, and water-proof broad-brimmed hats—the front of the brim turned up and the back turned down. So garbed they would march with their engine to the field of trial (usually the flats at the foot of Ridout Street). The engines combined the mechanism of a lift and a force pump, with a pump handle on each side in the shape of a long horizontal bar. Getting their engine into proper position, the bars on each side fully manneled, the captain on top of the engine with his trumpet in his hand and an anxious look on his face, at the word of command the pumping would begin. Slow at first, increasing in force; then the captain would get excited, and yelling frantically would urge on the men with "Brake her down, boys, brake her down!" and the boys would summon all their energies, and brake her down vigorously till the captain judged their limit had been reached; then the command would come to slow down, and gradually the engine would cease to work. The struggle was over: captain and men would wipe the sweat from their brows; the referee would measure the distance the stream had reached, and announce the result. Then the men would withdraw their engine; and if they had been the first to enter the trial would throw themselves upon the grass and watch their competitors; or if the tournament was over, victors and vanquished would march away to the refreshment booth. It was great fun, and great practise.

The system of water works at that time was not very extensive. A report to the Council in 1852 showed eleven tanks in operation—three being constructed of brick, two of squared timber and six of plank. It was decided at that time to construct seventeen more of brick. A little later it was thought possible to have something better than tanks; and the London and Westminster Waterworks Company was organized. There was an idea prevalent that the ponds in the Township were practically bottomless and would provide an unfailing supply of water. A little syphoning, however, proved the idea a mistaken one: and the company died a natural death.

In the early days of the town, street lighting was not considered necessary; but with growth came the desire for improved conditions. A few oil lamps gave a fitful gleam; but that was not enough. In 1853, a Mr. Spelman, of Cleveland, undertook to form a company, and supply gas for street lighting and private use, at the rate of four dollars per thousand feet. The Council approved the proposition, and agreed to take stock in the company. It was a year or two, however, before the plan fully materialized, and the streets of the city lighted with ninety-five gas lamps.

Some efforts for the moral "uplift" of the town were proposed. Mr. Morrill and one hundred and seven citizens petitioned the Council to stop issuing licenses for the sale of intoxicating liquor. The time was not ripe for so radical a measure; but, whether as a concession to the petitioners, or to give a favored few a monopoly, it was decided to reduce the number of licenses to twenty. That, however, was only for the year; and subsequent Councils did not



View of London, 1851

confine themselves to that number. Another proposition came from the Rev. W. F. Clarke, Congregational minister, asking the Council to forbid circus exhibitions. That met with no favor. The Councillors doubtless all wanted to take their children to the circus to see the animals—especially as they usually received free passes.

The progress of London Town in one direction might be considered of a doubtful character. It got into debt; and the debt grew rapidly. At first, temporary measures were adopted to stave off the day of payment until the tax money came in. The Council issued notes payable after a limited period of time. Occasionally they could get money from the bank by becoming personally responsible. Then, as financial transactions became more complicated, it was thought advisable to appoint a permanent treasurer, with a small salary, who would also act as Mayor's clerk. Out of this subsequently developed an official with the high-sounding title of

Chamberlain. For the position they chose John Brown, a large-bodied, large-hearted Irishman, who was every one's friend and an enemy to no one but himself; intrinsically honest, but careless in money matters. When, after many years' service, he was found to be a defaulter, in a fit of depression he took his own life. In 1852 the town petitioned the Legislature to consolidate its debt at one hundred thousand pounds, not including twenty thousand pounds of Great Western Railway stock. The Municipal Loan Fund was drawn on freely, until in 1873 when the Fund was wound up the city owed it a large sum. The act winding up the Fund gave a rebate to several of the debtors, and London's share was fixed at \$486,058.64, for which it was authorized to issue debentures.

So, it will be seen that while London was a town, the period was one of growth and prosperity, marred only by an epidemic of cholera in 1853, which not only involved the municipality in considerable expense but lost it many of its citizens.

When London Village became London Town, it did not enlarge its area. The North and South Branches of the Thames, with Adelaide and Huron Streets, still remained its boundaries. But the space enclosed could accommodate a much larger population than what we had. Nor was there any change made in the arrangement of the wards. St. George's from the middle of Dundas Street to the north boundary of the town; St. Patrick's, from the middle of Dundas Street to the middle of King Street; St. Andrew's, from the middle of King to the middle of Bathurst; St. David's, from the middle of Bathurst to the River. The names of the patron saints of England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales were thus officially recognized. But, at the next division of wards, a few years later, with the increase from four to seven, there did not appear to be any more suitable saints available; and so numbers were substituted. The dividing lines were: Richmond and Wellington, running north and south; Dundas and Oxford running east and west. Counting from west to east, south of Dundas Street, were Nos. 1, 3 and 5; between Dundas and Oxford, were Nos. 2, 4 and 6; while No. 7 embraced all above Oxford Street.

Under the law in 1848, a town elected its mayor by general vote; while the people of each ward elected two councillors. At the election for mayor the vote recorded was: Becher 128, Shepard 33, and Morrill 143; the total vote being 304. Not a very large vote; but a property qualification limited the number entitled to the franchise; and some who might have voted doubtless did as some electors do to-day—remained at their business, indifferent as to the choice of civic rulers.

Two years later the Municipal Law was changed: and in 1850 the composition of the Council was correspondingly altered. Each ward elected three Councillors, and the twelve Councillors elected from among themselves a Mayor, a Reeve and a Deputy Reeve. The Clerk and Treasurer were appointed by the Council. Alfred Carter was Clerk in 1848; but he does not appear to have given satisfaction, and James Farley occupied the position until London

became a City. A banker usually held the office of Treasurer, until, in later years, a permanent official was appointed. In 1848 Mr. W. W. Street, father of the late Judge Street, had the appointment.

As a matter of record, I give here the names of the men who managed the affairs of the Town of London during this period:

In 1848—Simeon Morrill, Mayor; Councillors: St. George's Ward—W. Barker and S. Stansfield; St. Andrew's Ward—Philo Bennett and M. Segar; St. Patrick's Ward—H. S. Robinson and John Diamond; St. David's Ward—A. McCormick and John Doyle.

1849—T. C. Dixon, Mayor; St. George's Ward—Wm. Barker and Thomas Carling; St. Patrick's Ward—M. Anderson and Robert Gunn; St. Andrew's Ward—Philo Bennett and James Daniel; St. David's Ward—James Graham and Benjamin Nash.

1850—Simeon Morrill, Mayor; M. Anderson, Reeve; Wm. Barker, Deputy; St. George's Ward—Thos. Carling, H. C. R. Becher, Wm. Barker; St. Patrick's—M. Anderson, L. Lawrason, John Ashton; St. Andrew's—S. Morrill, Jas. Daniel, Philo Bennett; St. David's—Benj. Nash, J. K. Labatt, Edward Adams.

1851—S. Morrill, Mayor; M. Anderson, Reeve; Wm. Barker, Deputy; St. George's—Thos. Carling, H. C. R. Becher, Wm. Barker; St. Patrick's—Edward Adams, M. Anderson, John Ashton; St. Andrew's—S. Morrill, Oliver McClary, Marcus Holmes; St. David's—J. K. Labatt, D. M. Thompson, John Clegg.

1852—Edward Adams, Mayor; M. Anderson, Reeve; Wm. Barker, Deputy; St. George's—Thos. Carling, Wm. Barker, J. C. Meredith; St. Patrick's—Edward Adams, Jas. Oliver, M. Anderson; St. Andrew's—Marcus Holmes, Jas. Reid, Oliver McClary; St. David's—Jas. Daniel, Geo. Code, John Clegg.

1853—Edward Adams, Mayor; Wm. Barker, Reeve; M. Holmes, Deputy; St. George's—Thos. Carling, Wm. Barker, J. C. Meredith; St. Patrick's—E. Adams, J. Oliver, M. Anderson; St. Andrew's—M. Holmes, Jas. Cousins, E. W. Hyman; St. David's—Jas. Daniel, Peter Schram, John Scanlon.

1854—M. Holmes, Mayor; Wm. Barker, Reeve; M. Anderson, Deputy; St. George's—John Carling, Wm. Barker, Robert Wilson; St. Patrick's—M. Anderson, E. Adams, Elijah Leonard; St. Andrew's—M. Holmes, J. Cousins, E. W. Hyman; St. David's—Jas. Moffatt, John Blair, John Clegg.

Looking over this list of names, it is evident that it comprised many of the leading men—merchants, manufacturers, lawyers. The present generation knows many of the names—though the men have all passed away. But it is doubtful if London ever had a better class of civic rulers; and under their management the town was certain to prosper. It was a business-like Council, and endeavored to conduct its sessions in a business-like and orderly manner. From indications in the old records, I am inclined to think that its predecessor—the Village Police Board—was a little different. If a member sat in his chair, with his feet on the table, and his pipe in his hand (or his mouth), and in that position under-

took to make motions and discuss questions, he was at liberty to do so; and generally did. If he got annoyed at anything said or done, he could express his views in language more forcible than polite. If he went farther than custom allowed, his colleagues could throw him out; and then he might retaliate by pelting them with stones; and then they might adjourn and settle matters outside. But the Town Council appreciated the dignity of its position. Rules were established for its proper governance. If a councillor wanted to speak, he had to rise and address the chair. Motions had to be duly made and seconded before they were discussed. Parliamentary practice was adopted, and courtesy prevailed. More than that; if a member was late in attendance he was fined; if absent from a meeting without satisfactory excuse, the fine was doubled. I doubt if more modern councils have done any better.

The only trouble arose sometimes from the attempts of a mayor to "run things". This was especially the case with Mayor Dixon. If he did not like a motion he would not submit it to the meeting. If something was done of which he did not approve, he would leave the chair, and declare the Council adjourned. But the Council would decline to adjourn; would appoint another chairman, and proceed with business, generally concluding with a vote of censure on the Mayor. At the next meeting the Mayor would refuse to sign the minutes; but that disturbed no one; the minutes could remain unsigned; business went on as usual. There might be considerable loud talk; but matters finally settled down without recourse to fisticuffs.

So the Town flourished; increased in population, in wealth, and also in debt. In 1854, the census enumerator reported 10,060 people within the town limits; and the Council petitioned Parliament for a city charter. This arrived in due time; and on the 1st of January, 1855, London became a city. Two generations have passed since that time. The population of 10,000 has grown to more than 60,000; London has become metropolitan in appearance, if not in actual size. It is no mean city. In the days of our prosperity, let us remember with gratitude the labors of our predecessors; and while we look with some degree of pride on our present condition, let us cultivate a lively hope for a greater future in store for what was once only "The Forks."

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